ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 370. BAND

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 2002, we found ourselves engaged in critically editing two Phur pa tantras from the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, a project that eventually saw fruition in our volume of 2007, *The* Kīlaya Nirvāṇa Tantra *and the* Vajra Wrath Tantra*: two texts from the Ancient Tantra Collection*, Vienna, The Austrian Academy of Sciences Press. It became increasingly evident that our understanding of the origins of traditionally transmitted rNying ma Phur pa tantras such as these would remain incomplete without a thorough parallel investigation of the Dunhuang Phur pa materials, which, unlike the traditionally transmitted ones, can be guaranteed to have remained unmodified for almost 1,000 years. Hence we proposed to the British Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), our sponsors, that we begin a parallel project to decipher, transcribe, and translate the Dunhuang archaeological legacy concerning Phur pa, including both the Phur pa texts per se, and all related Phur pa materials that we could find. We hoped that by analysing this material philologically, and also to some degree comparatively, historically, and anthropologically, we might shed some further light on the mystery of the origins of these remarkable and influential texts. We hoped also to provide a potentially valuable resource for understanding the ritual, social and historical factors that gave subsequent Tibetan religion its characteristically tantric aspect. We are extremely grateful to the AHRC for awarding us funds that enabled us to devote 25% of our time over the three year period 2004-2007 to this work. By pursuing these two lines of research in near-parallel, we have been able to see connections between the Dunhuang and transmitted Phur pa traditions that might otherwise have remained unnoticed. The Dunhuang Phur pa texts in themselves also offer the possibility of an intimate historical insight into the post-Dynastic period (mid 9th to 11th centuries), and we hope our analysis has made some modest contribution to such significations. We regret that the time limitations did not permit us to go beyond the early Phur pa sources to more general early historical sources, which could have provided more thorough contextualisation of our material, a task which will have to await a further study.

Acknowledgements and thanks are due to numerous colleagues and friends for the help they offered us over the course of this work. First and foremost we must thank Dr Charles Ramble and Professor Ernst Steinkellner, whose generous and unstinting support for so many of our enterprises over many years has been remarkable: their kindness is deeply appreciated. Special thanks must also be offered to all our colleagues in the Oriental Studies Faculty of the University of Oxford who in one way or another have helped our path in the course of this research. Another active contributor to the work was Dr Jean-Luc Achard of the CNRS in Paris, who helped in proofing our input of the Paris documents against the originals, a task which led to stimulating academic exchanges on the nature and content of the manuscripts. Thanks must also be offered to numerous other colleagues, whose help found expression in this work: Dr Sam van Schaik and Mr Burkhard Quessel of the International Dunhuang Project and the British Library; Professor Matthew Kapstein of Paris and Chicago; Dr Adelaide Hermann-Pfandt of Marburg; Professor Ronald Davidson, Fairfield, Vermont; Mr. Hūṃchen Chenagtshang of Ngak Mang Institute, Qinghai; Professor Cristina Scherrer-Schaub of Paris; Dr Gudrun Melzer, Munich; Ms Kerstin Grothmann, Berlin; Professor Alexis Sanderson, Oxford; Dr. Brandon Dotson of SOAS, London; Professor Vesna Wallace of University of California, Santa Barbara; Mr Ralf Kramer, Hamburg; Mr Ian Sinclair, Hamburg; Dr Jacob Dalton, Yale; Dr Orna Almogi, Hamburg; Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, Sarnath; Dr Christian Wedermeyer, Chicago; Professor Yael Bentor, Jerusalem; Ven. Changling Tulku, Shechen Monastery, Bodnath, Nepal; Mr Simon Cook, Paris.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION OF TIBETAN

Transliteration of Tibetan in this work conforms to the internationally widely used system often referred to as Wylie Conventions,[1] although we do not use the single contribution which Wylie proposed, that is, the capitalisation of the first letter of a word where appropriate. Instead, if necessary in the case of names or titles,[2] we capitalise the root Tibetan letter (or the first Roman letter representing the root letter), since this conforms more closely to Tibetan conceptions, and has a well-established usage in Western scholarly writings, from Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956.[3] For Tibetan representations of Sanskrit letters, we use the generally accepted appropriate Roman letters with diacritical marks. Following the Tibetan & Himalayan Digital Library's "Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme,"[4] we have used the colon to represent the Tibetan *gter shad* found in *gter ma* texts, but we use the colon differently in transcribing the Old Tibetan manuscripts (see below).

Conventions used in transcribing the Dunhuang documents

In presenting transcriptions of the Dunhuang manuscripts, we have conformed to the usages established by Tsuguhito Takeuchi in a number of publications on Old Tibetan documents, made in accordance with the suggestions of A. Delatte and A. Severyns (1938: *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins / conseils et recommandations par J. Bidez et A. B. Drachmann*, Bruxelles : Union académique internationale).

We have not needed to use Takeuchi's complete list but have used the following.
From Tsuguhito Takeuchi 1995 *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia,* Tokyo pp.137-138:

I	reversed *gi gu*
(abc)	editor's note
[a(/b)]	ambiguous readings
[abc]	our conjectural restorations of letters partly illegible or lost in the original
[abc?]	uncertain readings
[...]	illegible letters, number unknown
[---]	illegible letters, number known, indicated by broken line
[±3]	illegible letters, approximate numbers known, indicated by numeral with ±
] abc	beginning of line lost through damage
abc [	end of line lost through damage
***	blank spaces left by copyist

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1 Following Turrell Wylie 1959. Wylie adopted in its entirety the system earlier used by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: xv) and David Snellgrove (1957: 299-300). See the discussion in David Snellgrove 1987a: xxiv, and our own comments in Cantwell, Mayer and Fischer 2002: Note on Transliteration: "Not Wylie" Conventions (http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/Doc/NoteTransliteration.xml). In line with Tibetan understanding and the most common contemporary scholarly usage, we modify the system by using "w" rather than "v" for the subjoined Tibetan letter, "wa" (*wa zur*).

2 We do not capitalise words at all in representing our Tibetan source documents, but do so within the English language discussion where necessary.

3 The root letter (*ming gzhi*) is the main letter of a syllable and that under which words are ordered in Tibetan dictionaries, so it is the letter of the syllable to which attention is drawn.

4 This system is useful for automated font conversions between Roman and Tibetan script, using programs such as WylieWord (developed by David Chapman and distributed free on the THDL website). For presentational reasons, we have not otherwise adopted its conventions here, such as for Tibetan representations of Sanskrit letters.

From Tsuguhito Takeuchi 1997-1998 *Old Tibetan Manuscripts from East Turkestan in The Stein Collection of the British Library*, Tokyo and London Vol. 2: *Descriptive Catalogue* 1998, p.xxxii.

$	page initial sign (*mgo yig*, *siddhaṃ*)
~~abc~~	text deleted in the original manuscript[5]

We have also added one further convention:

:	ornamental punctuation mark, generally marking a section ending and new opening, and varying in design from two large vertically arranged circles to two dots.

Conventions used in translation, also following Takeuchi 1995: 138

(abc)	translator's note
[abc]	translator's supplements
[...]	illegible or missing letters, number unknown
[---]	illegible or missing letters, number known, indicated by broken line

[5] Tsuguhito Takeuchi's preferred usage is now not to include deleted words within the main text, but rather in the Critical Apparatus, marked as, "cancellavit" (this convention is given in his 1995 list). However, we have modified that list in this case, since it seems helpful in the case of our texts with only short deleted passages, for the reader immediately to see a transcription which as closely as possible resembles the original.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER S

1 General Introduction

The Dunhuang Caves and scholarly interest in their Tibetan manuscripts

A century ago, a number of sites along the old 'Silk Route' were discovered, in which cultural objects and manuscripts in different Asian languages had been preserved for many hundreds of years. The most impressive finds were those of the Dunhuang caves, which today have become a major heritage tourist destination, for those wishing to view an astonishing legacy of sculptures and rock carvings, murals, and other artistic and cultural artefacts, found in the remains of a large complex of Buddhist cave-temples.[1] For generations, especially during the first millennium CE and the early part of the second millennium, Dunhuang had been a thriving political, economic and cultural centre, which had seen considerable intercultural exchange between the various ethnic groups of the region. Texts recovered include secular and religious manuscripts, many of which had been part of a book repository or library which had been walled off in the early eleventh century.[2] There is clear evidence of multiculturalism. Not only are different languages represented amongst the hoard of manuscripts found, but there are instances of one language written using the script of another, or texts written on the reverse of paper originally used for a document in another language. For historical scholarship on the peoples and cultures who were at some stage part of this multi-ethnic community, the Dunhuang discovery meant the possibility of research using primary source materials of inestimable value. Moreover, due to the desert environment in which the manuscripts had been preserved, many showed remarkably little sign of deterioration as a result of the centuries during which they had been sealed away.

In the early twentieth century, Sir Marc Aurel Stein collected a large number of manuscripts which have since been kept in London and Delhi; Paul Pelliot gathered a collection which was deposited in Paris, while the authorities in Beijing, and other explorers and interested parties acquired other parts of the corpus of manuscripts, so that it became distributed throughout a number of international locations. The momentous discovery excited great interest around the world, although scholarship has been impeded by the distribution of the collection and difficulties of access, problems which are only today beginning to be overcome due to international cooperation, digitisation of images of the manuscripts and the publication of web based catalogues (see http://idp.bl.uk/).

For scholars of Tibetan materials, catalogues were made of the London Stein collection by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (only published in 1962, but compiled in 1914–1918) and of the Pelliot collection by Marcelle Lalou (1939, 1950, 1961). Pioneering work on the Tibetan manuscripts included the major publications of Hackin (1924), Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint (1940–1946), and for the tantric materials, Bischoff's work on the *Mahābala-sūtra* (1956). In the past forty years, scholarly work making use of Dunhuang Tibetan sources has witnessed something of an exponential growth, but there is still much to do. In this book, we contribute to this field by our study which focuses on a specific group of tantric manuscripts, those concerning the *phur pa* rites, with a view to ascertaining what kinds of connection we may find between these texts and the received Tibetan tradition that claims descent from the early period.

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[1] See the UNESCO World Heritage listing on the Mogao Caves: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/440/

[2] It is currently thought that the Dunhuang manuscript collections came from a storehouse of the Three Realms (Sanjie) Monastery (Xinjiang Rong 1999–2000 "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* Vol. 11: 247–275, cited in Takeuchi, forthcoming). Takeuchi (forthcoming) reports that in the 10th century, a monk of this monastery named Daozhen made considerable additions to his monastery's library stocks, so that a proportion of the Dunhaung texts might originate from Daozhen's time.

The rNying ma Tantric traditions

The rNying ma tantric tradition has for many centuries defined itself in terms of its unique transmission of the 'Three Inner Tantras' of *Mahāyoga*, *Anuyoga* and *Atiyoga*, which it claims were translated from Indic languages at the time of Padmasambhava; yet modern academic scholarship, with which we are here engaged, finds scant reliable evidence for such Tantras during the Empire. By contrast, the rNying ma pa do not very much define their identity in relation to the so-called 'lower tantras' of *Kriyā*, *Caryā* and *Yoga* – which are the only forms of tantras for which Western scholars can find unambiguous evidence in Imperial Tibet. (Such doxographical terms could be used inconsistently, and also had differing usages in India and Tibet: e.g *Mahāyoga* described a distinct doxographic category in Tibet, with which this study is often concerned; yet in Sanskrit perhaps more often meant little more than a major Yoga Tantra. Nevertheless, such doxographies were important to Tibetans from early times, so we must consider them.)

The exact circumstances of the emergence of what are now known as the rNying ma traditions of Tibetan Buddhism remains one of the least clearly defined areas of Tibetan history for modern scholarship. Perhaps the nearest we get to a general agreement is the vague idea that at least some proportion of rNying ma canonical scripture and its related literatures must have emerged before the start of the New Translation activities of the late tenth century and onwards; although there have been divergent views on just how great a proportion and what kind had developed by then. The earliest start of rNying ma tantrism is particularly disputed: some have seen small and varied yet significant beginnings during the Imperial period itself, while others have argued that virtually no tantric developments whatsoever, let alone those nowadays characterised as rNying ma, could begin until after the breakdown of the Empire in 842.

What makes the early history of rNyinga ma tantrism so difficult to establish is the dearth of reliable historical sources. Whatever the exact start dates might have been, no modern scholars doubt that much of the most important early development in rNying ma must have happened between 842 and the early eleventh century: yet this is precisely that notoriously inaccessible span of Tibetan history sometimes called, 'the Dark Period' by Western historians because it has bequeathed us such limited sources (the traditional name is the period of fragmentation, *sil bu'i dus*, which implies political breakdown but does not preclude cultural productivity). What few sources we have for Tantrism in this period are in most cases ambiguous for one reason or another. To give a few examples:

Of the three official Imperial translation catalogues we know of, two still survive, the *lHan kar ma* in several editions, and the *'Phang thang ma* in a more recently rediscovered single edition; yet their interpretations are much disputed. Some see the *lHan dkar ma* as older, others see the *'Phang thang ma* as older in parts; some accept all seventy-plus 'lower tantra' texts listed in *'Phang thang ma* as Imperial period translations, others see the final tantric section of *'Phang thang ma* as a later addition of uncertain date.[3]

There is ample evidence, including some carved in rock, for an Imperial period 'lower tantra' cult focused on the Buddha Vairocana and involving such cycles as the *Mahāvairocana-abhisaṃbodhi*, and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* with its important funerary rites that were proposed as a Buddhist alternative to the traditional Tibetan burial with its blood sacrifices. However, scholars have varying views on how widely such rites were used. Were they really intended only for the state and royal court, as Davidson describes (Davidson 2005: 65)? Or were they also used more widely – for example, in the funerals of aristocrats as well as emperors, and at places that were not specifically royal locations? Might they have even been used as regular practices by monasteries, aristocratic clans, or individuals?

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[3] The *'Phang thang ma* has only recently come to light, with few published analyses so far – Kawagoe (2005; and also 2005 "'Pentan mokuru' no kenkyū [A Study of the Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma]", Report of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies 51, 115–131, cited in Kuijp 2006: 173), and Halkias (2004). The above range of views arose out of discussions and correspondences with a number of colleagues from several countries, some of whom are in process of publishing studies involving the *'Phang thang ma*.

One of the few genuinely early sources for the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, the testimony of the sBa/dBa'/rBa clan (*dBa'/sBa bzhed*), has survived in three versions, along with many quotations in later literature. However, it is open to different interpretations, and of course there are also variations between the different versions. Some versions say that only *Caryā* tantra was permitted to be translated.[4] Other versions (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 88–89) say that both *Kriyā* and *Caryā* tantras were translated in full, while *Mahāyoga* translation was held back at that time since people ready for it had not yet appeared among the Tibetans.[5] Another very early source, an official Imperial edict concerning tantra translation, as incorporated in the *sGra sbyor bam bo gnyis pa*, also survives in several versions, which might represent different stages of the edict as it developed over a period of some years. The historical relations of the variant versions of the edict that have come down to us are a matter of discussion. Here too the implications for early tantra translation is complex. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has made a highly detailed analysis of all extant versions of this document, including those from Tabo and Dunhuang, and she interprets the edict merely to seek the proper regulation of secret tantric translations, which had already begun before this edict was promulgated in 783 or 795 (Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 287). Davidson, however, believes that throughout this period, there was a consistent Imperial policy that quite simply sought to ban most tantra translation, allowing only the few more exoteric court-based ceremonies centred on Vairocana, so that any other tantra translations that did occur were necessarily clandestine (Davidson 2005: 64–5, 215).

There are some early sources that seek to describe the emergence of rNying ma tantrism, such as those attributed to Rong zom, Nyang ral, and mKhas pa lde'u. While such sources are ostensibly comparatively close in time to the events they describe, scholars are unclear how much of their testimony can be taken at face value. Over and above normal questions of redactional transmission, as Per Sørensen has written, "Tibetan historiography abounds in attempts to forge documents that legitimised past glories and repute or underpinned bygone prerogatives, whether real or fictitious. In fact, it was considered a wholly legitimate procedure" (Preface to Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: XIII).[6]

The great *bKa' 'gyur* compiler, Bu ston, made exhaustive researches into the provenance of Buddhist texts in the course of his activities. Some (Herrmann-Pfandt 2002: 136–8) believe his history (*chos 'byung*) indicates that he minutely studied all three Imperial period translation catalogues – *lHan kar ma* (which has long been extant), *'Phang thang ma* (which has recently been rediscovered) and *mChims pu ma* (which has not yet come to light) – and from these, compiled a list of a great many 'lower' tantras officially translated in the Imperial period. Others (such as Davidson, who also cites Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*), by implication might not agree with Herrmann-Pfandt in treating as valid evidence Bu ston's acceptance of such a great quantity of Imperial period tantra translations, since he tends to describe the Imperial translations only in terms of the

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[4] Karmay 1988a: 4, 121, discussing Stein 1961 *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bzhed*, Paris: 52.

[5] tan tra las ma hā yo ga mu stegs dge ba la g.[c?]ud pa'i slad du gtsang rme med par bstan pa chos kyi dbyings ji lta ba ni ma rtogs pa log pa b[z?]ung du dogs te ma bsgyur/ sngags g.yog [for yo ga?] nus pa yang bod la mi 'byung nas ma bsgyur (dBa' bzhed 24v.4). Note that our interpretation differs a little from that of Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 89): "Out of the tantras, (in the case of) Mahāyoga, for the sake of steering extremists towards virtue, it was not translated since there was the concern that (they would) seize on perversion, not understanding the dharmadhātu nature (which informs) the teaching that there is no purity or defilement. Also, (it) was not translated when (those) with the ability to serve the mantra (teaching) were not forthcoming in Tibet." Wangdu and Diemberger suggest g.yog as a misspelling for yo ga, and they may be correct, but it reads perfectly well as it is. The phrase may imply "help with", and may refer to Tibetans of that period being unable to help with the translation rather than unable to practise.

[6] In this study, we have not had time accurately to weigh up and assess these problematic early historical sources; nor have we tried to rely on more acessible modern historical sources such as Dudjom, whose history we only use once or twice to point out the persistence into modern times of Dunhuang mythic passages, just as we (more frequently) use his various doctrinal or Phur pa writings to show continuities between them and the Dunhuang texts. Our approach here has been to let the Dunhuang texts speak directly for themselves, and to measure them against the transmitted rNying ma tradition. A careful study of the early histories remains a major desideratum.

few texts listed in *lHan kar ma* (Davidson 2005: 65, 385, note 16).[7] By contrast, Herrmann-Pfandt (ibid.) had concluded from her investigations into Bu ston's writings that none of the three catalogues on their own could have contained the complete list of official tantra translations, and that only a survey of all three together could yield the complete list.

In the face of such general uncertainty about the origins of the early Tibetan tantric traditions, both 'lower tantra' and rNying ma, we decided it might be helpful to return once more to the Dunhuang cache in search of further evidence. Remarkably, a hundred years after their transfer to the West, the tantric sections of the Dunhuang finds still remain substantially unexplored.[8] In addition to exploring their basic features, it seemed to us that a further specific important question about the Dunhuang tantric texts was worthy of investigation: just how do the Dunhuang tantric texts compare with those of the received rNying ma tradition? Rather than focus on the elusive search for Indic antecedents of the rNying ma tantras, here we are addressing different questions: What did Tibetan tantrism actually look like in the pre-gSar ma period? How similar was it, and how different, to the later rNying ma tradition?

Of course, we do not expect either aspect of this research to solve more than a limited range of our problems about rNying ma origins. This is not possible for a number of reasons. First, the chronological interpretation of Dunhuang materials is not in itself straightforward, and estimations of the dates of the Dunhuang Tibetan collections continue to fluctuate. Until quite recently, it was a commonplace to locate the Dunhuang Tibetan collections as early as the 9th century, since it was assumed that the majority of Tibetan works had been left there during the period of Tibetan occupation, but more recent studies[9] have shown that Tibetan continued to be used in Dunhuang after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, and many manuscripts, including the majority of tantric texts, have now been located between the mid 10th and early 11th century (see, Dalton and van Schaik 2006: xxi). It seems much too premature, however, to expect that the matter is fully resolved yet. A second complicating factor with Dunhuang sources is the nature of Dunhuang's multi-cultural society. For many years after the loss of Tibetan political control, many Dunhuang inhabitants of differing ethnicities continued to use Tibetan as a common written language. This means that it is quite possible that some Dunhuang tantric texts were written in Tibetan, but for the use of non-Tibetan communities, and perhaps were also translated from non-Tibetan sources more often than has sometimes been understood. Thirdly, it is perfectly possible that the Dunhuang finds represent only a small partial sample of early Tibetan tantric manuscripts and we have no way of knowing what significant early translations and compositions might not have been included. Nevertheless, regardless of ongoing changes in views about their dating and context, understanding the contents of the Dunhuang tantric texts, and their relation to the transmitted rNying ma tradition, remain important lines of research, without which historical clarity about rNying ma origins cannot so easily be envisaged.

The Dunhuang tantric collections, including those parts most obviously related to the later rNyinga ma tradition, are broad and extensive, and include enough material to occupy several researchers for decades. We therefore had to choose a specific focus. We decided on *phur pa* texts, because they offer a very particular insight into rNying ma. Since Phur pa remained from early times in Tibet a particularly rNying ma tradition within Buddhist Tantra,[10] Phur pa's emergence might to some extent coincide with or reflect the

[7] Both these authors were writing before the recent rediscovery of the *'Phang thang ma* manuscript, and it will be interesting to see what light further study of the *'Phang thang ma* might throw on this debate.

[8] The early cataloguers (see above) had provided some indication of its scope, and attention had been given to a few Dunhuang tantric manuscripts by well-known Tibetologists such as R.A. Stein (eg. Stein 1971–2). More recent scholarly works include Dalton and van Schaik, 2006, Kapstein and Dotson 2007, and Kapstein and van Schaik's forthcoming edited collection (*Chinese and Tibetan Tantra at Dunhuang*, Special edition of *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, Brill, Leiden).

[9] See especially the publications of Takeuchi (2004; forthcoming).

[10] We are approaching the emergence of Bon Phur pa traditions, and their relation to rNying ma, in a subsequent study. The Sa skya Phur pa tradition is rNying ma in origin, and the Sa skya Phur pa commentarial literature seems to depend substantially on the rNying ma tantras.

emergence of rNying ma as a broader category. In addition, our previous work on the Phur pa textual tradition (see especially Mayer 1996 and Cantwell and Mayer 2007) meant that we are particularly familiar with the Phur pa scriptural heritage, and furthermore, the Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus was of a manageable size to handle in one project. At the same time, there are also substantial *phur pa* elements in the so-called 'lower tantras', and we have not ignored Dunhuang Tibetan examples of these from our study. While the 'lower tantras' are not included in the later rNying ma tantra collections, being largely shared with the *bKa' 'gyur* tradition, nevertheless they have had a role in rNying ma religious life, and their testimony is historically significant to the overall emergence and practice of Tantrism in Tibet.

The Selection of Dunhuang Phur pa Texts[11]

Unfortunately, we do not have a full length Phur pa tantra from Dunhuang, although it would seem that they already existed by that time because at least one is cited in a particularly valuable Dunhuang text, the *Thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng* manuscript (IOL Tib J 321).[12] However, the Dunhuang *phur pa* materials do include a substantial twenty-two page text, with many interlinear notes, identified in the British Library as part III of IOL Tib J 331. This is the closest we get to a full length Phur pa work from Dunhuang; all other materials are more fragmentary, comprising either very short complete texts, or excerpts from longer works.

From the viewpoint of later tradition, "*phur pa* texts" would generally denote the scriptures, ritual practice and commentarial texts connected with the Phur pa deity. As we shall see, there is not such a neat or obvious group of texts amongst the Dunhuang manuscripts, even though some of them – as we will describe below – share extensive passages or key themes with the later tradition. Given the lack of any such clearly demarcated group of texts, it is worth clarifying how we selected the texts we consider here. At the outset, we decided to take the widest kind of definition and to include any texts which in some manner related to or included material relevant for the imagery and practices of the Phur pa tradition. At the same time, boundaries had to be set somewhere. One could construe commentarial works on *Mahāyoga* principles and ritual as relevant to the Phur pa heritage, or ritual practices focused on wrathful heruka deities, especially those dealing with tantric meditations to transform hatred and aggression.[13] An exhaustive study of all such materials would have been out of the question in the limited time we had available, and would have defeated the object of a manageable selection of materials. Thus, we gave our main attention to the limited number of texts or text sections with an explicit central focus on the Phur pa/ Phur bu tradition or on *phur pa* rites.[14]

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[11] Note that the IOL Tib J numbers used throughout this book refer to the India Office Library numbering system for the Stein Tibetan manuscripts now held at the British Library in London, and the PT references refer to the Pelliot tibétain numbers of the Paris collection.

[12] We discuss some aspects of this important text below (see especially Chapter 10); and we are in addition conducting a separate research project into it.

[13] See in particular our comments below on IOL Tib J 306 and IOL Tib J 321 (Chapter 3, p 39).

[14] In the inherited tradition, the words, *phur pa*, *phur bu*, *kīla* and *kīlaya* may be used to describe the ritual implement and/or the deity. The names and terms may currently be used with slightly different connotations from those in Dunhuang texts and are not always used consistently today. The term *phur bu* (sometimes interpreted as equivalent to *kīlaka*) in more modern usage is sometimes restricted to the implement, while *phur pa* (sometimes interpreted as equivalent to *kīla*) can equally refer to the deity or the implement. The restriction of the word *phur bu* to the implement is by no means universal, and in practice, either *phur bu* or *phur pa* may be applied to the implement or the deity. In some of the Dunhuang materials, such as in PT 349 (see Chapter 8, text lines 1, 3 and 4), *phur pa* takes the form *phur ba*. This does not generally occur nowadays at all except as an error, but in the A mdo area, the grammatical particle *pa* is sometimes written as *ba*, so in this context, it may be considered acceptable by regional conventions. (Thus, Mag gsar [or the modern printing of Mag gsar 2003] on occasion gives "phur ba" [eg. p.164, 168], and similarly, lnga ba [p.7], bcu ba [p.3], stong ba [p. 51] etc.) The term *kīlaya* or *vajrakīlaya* is ubiquitously used in Tibetan tradition to refer to the *yi dam* form of the deity or to its tantric texts (the deified implements in the main deity's retinue, often associated with the buddha families, are sometimes called the *kīlaya*s and sometimes the *kīla*s; hence, Buddha Kīlaya/Kīla, Ratna Kīlaya/Kīla etc.). In some Dunhuang and old texts – where it may not be clear that the *yi dam* deity form as it came to be recognised by the tradition is at issue at all – the terms kī la ya, ki la ya, badzra kī la ya etc. may be used simply to refer to the implement or the deified implement. In this book, we conform to the usage presented in the Dunhuang text in question; or in more general discussion, we simplify usage by using *phur pa* for the implement, which may or may not also carry the

We also looked more briefly at other texts or sections where the use of a ritual *phur pa* may occur as a minor feature in a rite with an altogether different focus. Hence, in particular in the final chapter, we included some rites which are of uncertain direct relevance for the development of the Phur pa tradition as such, although they supply a background context to its more specific use of *phur pa* rites. In considering any Dunhuang text relating in such a broad sense to the Phur pa tradition, we nonetheless excluded texts and text fragments which merely reproduced some elements of the principal mantra string used in the Phur pa deity practice, ie. *bandzra kīli kīlaya*. It soon became clear that large numbers of Dunhuang tantric texts use these mantra syllables, and while the Phur pa tradition shares them, the mantra string in itself has little or no relevance for Phur pa rites as such.[15] We also excluded uses of the term, *phur pa* which did not seem to have bearing on the ritual implement or deity.[16]

'Liberative killing' (sgrol ba) and the Phur pa heritage

Several of the Dunhuang texts pay detailed attention to the topic of 'liberative killing', or *sgrol ba*. *sGrol ba* is a famous *Mahāyoga* rite which remains to this day a very central feature of rNying ma Phur pa ritual.[17] Indeed, the imagery of the Phur pa deity is integrally connected to the associations of ritual 'liberative killing' – the deity's central hands wielding a *phur pa* ritual implement, the mythology of Phur pa's origins in the subjugation of Rudra, the famous lines of recitation beginning most Phur pa sādhanas focusing on "vajra wrath" cutting through hatred, that is so often interpreted in terms of *sgrol ba*.[18] The ritual which became the classic context for the performance of *sgrol ba* – the carefully structured summoning of evil forces into an effigy which is then stabbed, releasing the consciousness of the victim(s) into a buddha field, is witnessed in the regular rites of numerous wrathful deities, especially as part of the *tshogs* offering rite for repairing tantric samaya commitments. In the case of the Phur pa deity, the rite takes central stage as the backdrop to the imagery of the deity and his "cemetery palace", and its performance may be integrated into the main root sādhana.[19] The majority of the Dunhuang *phur pa* texts we discuss in this book either explicitly describe *sgrol ba* type rituals, or relate to rites using ritual *phur pa*s which might involve some aspect of *sgrol ba* imagery, so it is worth introducing the topic briefly here. Our manuscripts rarely use the term *sgrol*/*bsgral* explicitly (although PT 44 [34] does, see p.65), more often using other terms for liberation (eg. *thar pa*),

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connotation of a *phur pa* deity, and Phur pa or Vajrakīlaya where the reference is more specifically or primarily to the tantric *yi dam*.

15 In some instances, the issue is blurred. One text which shares the *bandzra kīli kīlaya* mantra string but which we have not felt we needed to deal with here is the *Vajra-vidāraṇa dhāraṇī* (*rdo rje rnam par 'joms pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs*), of which there are many copies amongst the Dunhuang manuscripts, for instance, IOL Tib J 410; IOL Tib J 411; IOL Tib J 412; IOL Tib J 413; IOL Tib J 414 Section 1; IOL Tib J 415; IOL Tib J 416 Section 3; IOL Tib J 462 Section 2; IOL Tib J 544 Section 3; PT 60 Section 2; PT 857 fragment. See also Dalton's comments on the relationship between the Dunhuang versions, the canonical versions and the commentaries (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 153). This *dhāraṇī* continues to have an important place in the Tibetan tradition: it is regularly recited, and it is possible that this popular *dhāraṇī* text once provided raw materials for later NGB tantras, including those of Phur pa. But it is difficult to isolate specific connections with Phur pa, and there seemed little point in going further than noting its presence in Dunhuang.

16 In some cases, the term, "*phur pa*" may be used with rather different metaphorical associations, such as in the phrase used in early *rDzogs chen* texts, "*'dzin pa'i phur pa*". Karmay (1988: 72, 75, and see also 84–5) discusses the use of this image in commenting on IOL Tib J 594, where it occurs on folio 1v.4. He translates it as, "fixing stake" or "fixed post"; it indicates an undesirable state of contriving or seeking to pin down the intangible natural condition. Clearly, such a usage is interesting in gaining a full appreciation of the word, but not unavoidably relevant to the function of the ritual implement (let alone the deity!) in *phur pa* rites.

17 See Cantwell 1997 for a discussion of *sgrol ba* rites in the rNying ma context.

18 *rdo rje khros pas/khro bos zhe sdang gcod*. This is the first line of the root verse for the arising of the Kīlaya maṇḍala. It opens the famous short *Phur pa rtsa ba rgyud kyi dum bu* found in the *bKa' 'gyur*, and can also be found (with various textual variants slightly amending the meaning) in all the major Phur pa tantras as well as in virtually every Phur pa sādhana.

19 For instance, in the Sa skya *Phur chen* (33r–35r), an extensive *sgrol ba* rite is performed as part of the offerings section of the main ritual.

transformation or transference, but there is no doubt that the rites are exactly the same as those later more consistently referred to as *sgrol ba*.

A classic feature of *Mahāyoga* is that rites like *sgrol ba* need to have complex doctrinal exegeses without which the ritual might be meaningless, or misunderstood. The doctrinal underpinnings of *sgrol ba* include Mahāyāna sources on bodhisattva ethical principles, which may involve the principle of compassion overriding the precept to refrain from killing. In particular, a focus in such sources is often less on the benefits to the potential future victims of an aggressor who is to be the object of the compassionate violence, and more on compassion towards the aggressor himself, who is to be saved from the terrible karma of his aggression, and liberated from saṃsāra.[20] The same emphasis is found in *sgrol ba* rituals – the main point is to act on the basis of compassion for the object of the rite. At the same time, in the *Mahāyoga* context, the transgressive engagement in violence, channelled within a framework of ritual symbolism, serves to attack and pacify aggression itself, in the process restoring harmony and the tantric bonds.

Thus, a central function of *sgrol ba* is directly and forcibly to destroy one's primal enemy, ignorance, using ritual and contemplative techniques. Typically, this might entail the extension of the violent methods of sacrificial-exorcistic ritual[21] towards the more inward and soteriological goal of liberating one's own mind, as well as those of others, from the 'evil spirits' of ignorance. At the same time, such soteriologised exorcisms will often retain their more conventional external exorcistic connotations as a secondary purpose, but now entirely subordinated in both doctrine and liturgy to the greater central soteriological purpose. In Phur pa ritual, the exorcistic activity of stabbing an effigy represents an assault on the ignorance of deluded belief in the true existence of a self, using a suitably consecrated *phur pa*, embodying the wisdom of all the Buddhas, through which the ignorance is 'liberated' into wisdom. In all these respects, there is no doubt that the *phur pa sgrol ba* rites from Dunhuang and those of the contemporary tradition are quite substantially similar, as we shall discuss below.

Some of the doctrinal exegesis is also represented at Dunhuang in similar terms to nowadays. IOL Tib J 436[22] gives a definition of *Mahāyoga sgrol ba* as liberation of onself (*bdag bsgral ba*) and liberation of others (*gzhan bsgral ba*). A thousand years later, in a standard work representing mainstream understandings of Phur pa ritual, ('Jam mgon) Kong sprul likewise describes *sgrol ba* as twofold using exactly the same words: liberating oneself through wisdom (*bdag bsgral*), and liberating others through compassion (*gzhan bsgral*) (94.6). IOL Tib J 436 goes on to describe self-liberation as achieving the approach practice to the deity; Kong sprul goes on to explain self-liberation as practising visualisation of oneself as the deity's body – which is another way of saying exactly the same thing. IOL Tib J 436 (line 6) describes liberation of others in terms of the ten fields suitable for liberation (*zhing bcu*); Kong sprul does exactly the same (97.3).

It is worth noting, however, that the Dunhuang evidence for the specific kind of *sgrol ba* rituals which persist in the practices of the Phur pa deity and in parallel destructive rituals of other wrathful deities does

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20 In the *Upāyakauśalya Sūtra* story of the compassionate ship's captain killing the robber who intended to murder five hundred merchant bodhisattvas, the emphasis is on the robber's evil karma, and his rebirth in a pure land thanks to the captain's compassionate act. The later *Ratnakūṭa* version includes the detail that the killing was performed by stabbing. (Mark Tatz 1994: 17–18, 73–74.) This example is often cited in rNying ma pa teachings on *sgrol ba* in Phur pa practice contexts. There are numerous other Mahāyāna sources which make similar points in relation to the ethics of taking life, such as Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara ed., Tokyo, 1930: 165-6; see the discussion in Cantwell 1997: 110-111).

21 Especially after the rise of the *bhakti* cults in India, exorcisms often took the form in which a benign great deity would 'sacrifice' an evil hostile spirit, and then bring it back to life again as a spiritual servant. The implication is that even to die at the hands of Viṣṇu, Śiva or Devī, is a great blessing that brings instant liberation and enlightenment. In this way, sacrifice and exorcism become intertwined. See Chapter 2, p. 17-20 below, where we talk further on this subject.

22 3v; IDP website (http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=IOL Tib J 436) image 4, top. IOL Tib J 306 also analyses *sgrol ba* in similar terms, focusing on benefitting self and others. See below, Ch. 3, p.39 note 17.

not exhaust the range of *sgrol ba* practices found in Dunhuang texts. In IOL Tib J 419 and PT 42,[23] a set (or sets) of notes on *Mahāyoga* practice includes some interesting discussion of *sgrol ba* rites which have a slightly different framing narrative and ritual process from those found most typically in Phur pa rites and the rites do not mention the use of *phur pa* implements.[24] Two aspects stand out. First, in PT 42's account (f.69–70), there is a meditation on seed syllables at five parts of the body, presumably referring to the body of the rite's object or its effigy, and through this, the gateways to the five lower destinies for rebirth are closed, leaving only the pathway for rebirth in a god realm. This pathway is then opened through a meditation on a further syllable on the crown of the head (Meinert 2006: 121–4). Unlike a standard Phur pa *sgrol ba*, where a number of specific parts of the body are stabbed with a *phur pa*,[25] there would seem to be no violence at this stage. The ritual stoppage of birth in the different realms is not dissimilar from a passage in the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*, in which beings of the three lower realms are summoned and released from their suffering lives into the realm of Vairocana, by contact with Vajrapāṇi's display of mantra and mudrā (Weinberger 2003: 193). There are close parallels to the meditation description in tantric visualisations not normally classified as *sgrol ba*, to purify the karma causing different realms and to prevent rebirth in them.[26] Following this, the ritual proceeds to a more typical *sgrol ba* scenario (PT 42: f.70–72), and the second notable contrast to Phur pa *sgrol ba* practices is that the symbolic killing is performed through a meditation on the "vajra weapon" (*rdo rje mtshon cha*), arising from the syllable *krong* at the cranium aperture[27] at the crown of the head, and multiplying into numerous spears,[28] which slash the body. After meditating on the transformation and purification of the object of the rite, the symbolic 'liberative killing' is concluded with the mantra of the tantric deity, Ṭakkirāja.[29]

Another manuscript with a rather different explanation of the rite of *sgrol ba* is IOL Tib J 754's section 8.[30] In the notes on tantric practice here, a discussion of *sgrol ba* follows exegesis on the tantric feast

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23 The relationship between parts of these two manuscripts has been pointed out by Dalton (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 156, 158–160). See also Meinert 2006.

24 *Phur pa*s are mentioned in PT 42 in a quite different context of empowerment rituals (see Ch. 11, p.210).

25 See, for instance, IOL Tib J 331.III, f.8r (Ch. 6 below, p.114-5), and also the *'Bum nag* (Boord: 231–4) or the "Subsidiary Ritual" (*smad las*) section of the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* (Vol.Tha: 471–476).

26 Some rNying ma preliminary practices include such a meditation on six syllables, one for each of the realms, at six parts of the body: see for example the foundation practice of the widely practised *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* cycle (*sngon 'gro* section: 25–26), where the places are the same as those given in PT 42, with one addition. Pure syllables then burn up the latencies and purify causes for rebirth in the six realms. There are three obvious ontrasts with PT 42: 1) the different approach to the god realm, assumed to be as much part of saṃsāra as the other realms and not an appropriate gateway for liberation; 2) the focus is a self-visualisation, whereas PT 42 is presumably a visualisation based on the rite's object; 3) in this case, a separate set of enlightened syllables purify the impure syllables (in PT 42, the syllables visualised are already described as the "warrior" [heruka] seeds (*dpa' bo 'bru lnga*, PT 42 folio 69; Meinert 2006: 123) and they effect the purification. Notwithstanding these differences, the overall similarity of the visualisation and function of the meditation is striking. The preliminary practice from the *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* that we describe here constitutes a typical instance of the rNying ma and Bon *rDzogs chen* preliminary practices of Inner Separation (*nang gi ru shan*).

27 *mtshogs ma* = *mtshog ma*. Note that Meinert (122 note 71 and 124) reads this word as *mchogs ma*, interpreting it as *mchog ma*, top, peak.

28 shag-ti (71.3–4) = Skt. śakti, spears; see Meinert: 122 note 72.

29 Further meditations typical of *sgrol ba* rites continue in IOL Tib J 419's section 7 (as ordered by Dalton in the IDP catalogue, Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 159–160), such as offering the remaining flesh and blood to the deities for their consumption. This is a common component of *sgrol ba* rites as we find them in the Phur pa tradition, eg. constituting the final section (*zhal du stob pa*) of the six-fold structure of the 'Actual Rite of Liberative Killing' (*sgrol chog dngos*), as presented in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* (*smad las* section, Vol. Tha: 458, 477ff). IOL Tib J 419's section 12 (folio Rf.13v–19v in the pagination system in Dalton and van Schaik 2005, and r16–38 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006) gives a reiteration of the *sgrol ba* rite already described, in parts, rather more detailed and in a slightly different order. From that account, it is explicit that in this case, Ṭakkirāja is the deity with whom the tantric practitioner is to identify himself (Rf.13v or r.26), and there is a detailed description of the liberation of the consciousness of the rite's object.

30 Here, we adopt Dalton and van Schaik's (2006: 321–325) classification of sections within the sets of notes found in this scroll manuscript (although note that these sections have now been relabelled in their IDP web catalogue). Section 7 has notes on Phur pa, which we discuss below (Chapter 7, p.136ff).

offering (*tshogs*) and on rites of union (*sbyor ba*). The discussion is terse and lacking details of ritual description, rather outlining a theoretical classification of *sgrol ba*, which again, specifically suggests the aim of release from the six realms of beings. It lists four aspects of *sgrol ba*: liberation through the View; through moral discipline; through samaya, and through conduct.[31]

Thus, while rites using *phur pa*s came to take the central place in rites of *sgrol ba* in rNying ma *Mahāyoga* practice,[32] as indeed they already did in a number of Dunhuang manuscripts, we can see such rites as a particular development and expression of the wider theme of 'liberative killing'.

The PT 42/IOL Tib J 419 sequence might also suggest a connection between *sgrol ba* and another complex of tantric meditative ritual: that of *'pho ba*, the transference of consciousness to a Buddha field at death, which may be performed by a practitioner for themselves, or on behalf of another, generally following or at the moment of death. This is not the place to elaborate at length on these practices, which form an extremely important part of Tibetan funerary rituals,[33] but it is worth noting that *sgrol ba* as practised in the Phur pa tradition can be seen as a variety of forcible transference. Interestingly, the title given to the longest Dunhuang Phur pa text which we examine below, IOL Tib J 331.III (see Chapters 5 and 6 below), describes the text as the enlightened activity of transference (*'pho ba 'I 'phrIn las*). In *'pho ba*, as in the PT 42 description, the body's lower gateways are shut and the consciousness projected up from the crown of the head. In Phur pa *sgrol ba* rites, the consciousness of the evil ones is taken up from the heart of the effigy by the *phur pa*, which has been consecrated as the deity's emanation. In the commentary on the *bDud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri* version of the ritual, the consciousness arising in the syllable "nṛ" is transformed by its enforced contact with the *phur pa*. Consecrated as, "a hūṃ", it is sent up from the *phur pa* with the syllable, phaṭ, to Vajrasattva, who is uniting with his consort in the Akaniṣṭha Buddha field. Thus, the transmigrating consciousness gains birth as Vajrasattva's son, and hence, liberation.[34]

Continuities, Transformations and their Implications

Amongst the most salient outcomes of our investigation of the Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus is the evidence we repeatedly found for a quite well developed Phur pa tradition with clear and detailed continuities to the contemporary rNying ma tradition. For example, the entire content of the longest Dunhuang Phur pa text, IOL Tib J 331.III, is reproduced within the traditionally transmitted rNying ma pa Phur pa scriptures, and from there, it has had an impact on the commentarial and practice traditions to this day. We shall discuss this at greater length below (Chapters 5 and 6). In the case of *sgrol ba* rites and exegesis, we see preservation of both exegesis and ritual practice, as will be clear from a number of different Dunhuang texts.

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31 /snying rje 'i las nI sgrol ba rnam pa bzhi 'o/ /gang zhe na lta bas sgrol ba dang/ tshul khrims kyis sgrol ba dang/ daṃ tsig kIs sgrol ba dang/ spyod pas sgrol ba 'o/ /de la daṃ tsig ma nyams pa dang/ tshul khrims ma ral ba dang/ lta ba ma nor bas kyang rgyud drug kI sems can las thar cing/ /bla na myed pa 'i sangs rgyas su 'grub par 'gyur ro/ (R.9)

32 In performances of 'subsidiary rites' (*smad las*), the elaborate ritual display of 'Casting the Torma' (*gtor ma 'phang ba*) directed at the evil spirits represents a final culmination of the main root practice which is performed first, and which features a *sgrol ba* rite using a ritual *phur pa* as its centrepiece and the basis for the expelling rite (see Cantwell 1989: Supplementary Materials, "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities", especially 9–15, 24–25, for a description of 'subsidiary rites' connected with the deity, rDo rje Gro lod). See also below, p.32 note 2, on the category of *smad las* rites.

33 *'Pho ba* practice can be performed in connection with many tantric deities although that associated with Amitābha with the object of birth in Sukhāvatī is especially popular in Tibetan Buddhism (see Halkias 2006: 152–159, and discussion of the specific texts following). Halkias (2006: 153–4) interestingly draws attention to Lama Thubten Yeshe's suggestion (now found on the Lama Yeshe Wisdom Archive: http://www.lamayeshe.com/lamayeshe/toc/toc_1.shtml) that the *'pho ba* teachings derive from the *Guhyasamāja*. This comment deserves further attention, which we are not in the position to give it here.

34 rnam shes nṛ ru gnas pa de phur bus tsan gyis blangs te a hūṃ du byin gyis brlabs nas phaṭ kyis 'og min du rdor sems yab yum gyi sbyor mtshams su spar bas rdor sems kyi sras su gyur te sangs rgyas par bsam pa ni brten pa dbyings su bsgral ba'o (*bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Vol. Da: 134.5–6).

Other general *Mahāyoga* doctrinal themes also persist between Dunhuang texts and the later tradition. For example, in Chapter 1 of the Dunhuang *Thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng ba* commentary (IOL Tib J 321), there is reference to the *mtshan nyid gsum*, or 'Three Characteristics (of the Continuum of the Path)] of *Mahāyoga*'. These categories remain very much a part of contemporary *Mahāyoga* exegesis: the late Dudjom Rinpoche, for example, analysed them in his *bsTan pa'i rnam gzhag*, here using the *Man ngag lta 'phreng*, attributed to Padmasambhava, as his source.[35] Dudjom Rinpoche's language and understanding seem much the same as that of the *Thabs zhags* commentator.

Some continuities in particular details between Dunhuang texts and the modern rNying ma pa tradition are equally remarkable because to some extent, they might be seen as going against the grain. In PT 349, we find a potentially confusing conflation of the names of the major male and female Phur pa deities that has the potential to create some exegetical difficulties; yet, as we show below (Chapter 8 p.152-157), even this potentially troublesome detail was preserved intact through the centuries.

We also find materials close to the modern tradition within Dunhuang historical and legendary writing. In a late tenth century booklet, PT 44, we find a narrative of Padmasambhava bringing Phur pa to Tibet via the Asura cave at Pharping in Nepal couched in terms very similar to the very well-known Phur pa *lo rgyus* narratives still current today (see below, Chapter 4). Similarly, PT 307 describes Padmasambhava and one of his disciples, Rlang dpal gyi seng ge, working as a pair, jointly subduing the seven goddesses of Tibet and converting them into protectoresses. In modern rituals still regularly performed, the legend of the very same pair of Padmasambhava and Rlang dpal gyi seng ge subduing the powerful female protectreses of Tibet together, is still celebrated.[36]

One begins to get the impression that rather little in the Dunhuang Tantric Buddhist repertoire, however obscure it might at first appear, was ever subsequently thrown away. The ethos seems to have been that everything will somehow somewhere have a use, and so must be preserved intact for posterity. At the same time, there is, of course, abundant evidence that ritual text in particular could be broken down into component parts, and recombined with other component parts to create new ritual wholes. The central skill in authoring new ritual text is to achieve a recombination of existing ritual parts into a new ritual whole, in a manner which nevertheless reasserts with great precision the particular ethos and symbolism of the tantric genre being attempted. In pursuit of this goal, one can also find overlapping passages between texts of ostensibly quite different Tantric genres. PT 349, a Phur pa text, has exact parallels to canonical *Guhyasamāja* passages,[37] which in turn incorporate materials from *dhāraṇī* texts for rDo rje sder mo,[38] which in turn share passages with canonical *gDugs dkar* or *Uṣṇīṣasītātapatrā dhāraṇī*s[39] – and so on and so on. Thus, genetic connections are sometimes discernible within the ritual details shared between tantric texts of differing genres and periods. Textual recycling can be at the larger structural level as well: in the nineteenth century, Mag gsar retained the structure of the Seven Perfections which we find in IOL Tib J 331.III, citing

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35 An annotation to the *Thabs zhags* commentary Chapter 1 (1r.5) presents them as: "When [one] understands through the Characteristic of Knowledge, by the inherent power of becoming familiarised with the Characteristic of the Entrance, the Characteristic of the Result is accomplished as Buddha Body, Speech and Mind." ("*shes pa'i mtshan nyid gyis rtogs na 'jug pa'i mtshan nyid gyis goms pa'i mthus 'bras bu 'i mtshan nyid sku gsung thugs su 'grub bo*"). In Dudjom, following the *Man ngag lta 'phreng* (see S. Karmay 1988a: 167), these are given as *rtogs pa rnam pa bzhi'i tshul rig pa ni shes pa'i mtshan nyid* (awareness in the manner of the Four Kinds of Realisation is characteristic of knowledge); *yang nas yong du goms par byed pa ni 'jug pa'i mtshan nyid* (repeated experience of it is characteristic of the entrance); *goms pa'i mthus mngon du gyur ba ni 'bras bu'i mtshan nyid* (and actualisation of it by the power of experience is characteristic of the result). See Dudjom 1991 Vol 1: 265; Vol 2: 111.

36 For a discussion of PT 307, see Dalton 2004. See also our comments (Ch. 4, p.48 note 35 below) on these continuities.

37 For example, from the *Piṇḍikramasādhana* of Nāgārjuna; and the *Piṇḍikṛta-sādhanopāyikā-vṛtti-ratnāvalī* or *mDor bsdus pa'i sgrub thabs kyi 'grel pa rin chen phreng ba* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti (Peking 2690: 297b l.7. to 298b l.2). See the Appendix to Chapter 8, p.162-163 below.

38 In particular, a mantra which is identified as rDo rje sder mo's mantra; see Chapter 5, p.84-85.

39 See Chapter 5, p.85 note 61, and Chapter 11, p.204 note 69.

the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* as his source, but somewhat reconstrued the uses of its principal categories (see below, Chapter 5, p.78-87). There are few if any rules governing the type or nature or size of recyclable ritual items – only that they must work in their new ritual context. Of course, there is no doubt that this process happened constantly in India, as in Tibet. Beyond that, it is not only tantric ritual that develops this way, but much of the world's ritual and mythic systems. A classic anthropological description of the process is found in Levi-Strauss's exposition of what he dubbed 'bricolage', which he interpreted as the often skilful and ingenious "bending" (Fr.: *bricoler*) to new usages of existing cultural artifacts (1976: 16 ff).

Some comparisons between the Dunhuang tantric texts and the later transmitted texts also illustrate processes of scriptural change through textual transmission. The above mentioned *Thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng ba*, in its Dunhuang version (IOL Tib J 321), comprises an entire *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (henceforth: NGB) *Mahāyoga* root tantra, embedded as lemmata within a commentary. To the eyes of the average reader, there is little in the *Thabs zhags* root tantra that might obviously betray a non-Indic origin, and this surely helps explain its placement in some editions of the *bKa' 'gyur*, where it sometimes finds its way into their *rNying rgyud* sections (at the time of writing, we ourselves remain uncertain as to this root tantra's Indic provenance).[40] But the page layout of the Dunhuang manuscript, and the manner in which its lemmata are embedded within the commentary, expose possible reasons for the considerable redactional variation between the root tantra's later extant canonical versions. Unlike the root tantra, the commentary shows more obvious signs of being composed in Tibetan – for example, in the way it etymologises Tibetan translational terms, like *dkyil 'khor* (in its Chapter 6). Now, the *Thabs zhags* manuscript has some root tantra chapters so completely embedded in the commentary and without any distinguishing indications, that in many cases it is not at all easy to distinguish between the lemmata citing the root tantra and the surrounding commentary. In fact, unless the reader is very highly educated and patient, it can sometimes be well nigh impossible to discern the exact boundaries of the root tantra. Faced with such a circumstance, a scribe seeking to extract the root tantra only is likely to copy more rather than less, to make sure that none of the precious scripture is left out of his copy; thus inadvertently incorporating Tibetan commentarial materials into the more plausibly Indic root tantra. The precise nature of the substantial variations between the different extant canonical versions of the root tantra do indeed look as though they might well be accounted for by different scribes having on different occasions identified different parts of the commentary as constituting the lemmata. We are currently in process of a more detailed study which explores this possibility further.

There might be a possible example of exactly this process of incorporating commentarial material in the Southern Central and Bhutanese NGB recension of the *Guhyasamāja* root tantra. Eastman's preliminary study (1980) of the virtually complete Dunhuang manuscript (IOL Tib J 438), collated its verses of Chapter Three, together with three *bKa' 'gyur* witnesses and one Southern Central NGB edition (to which we have added another representing the Bhutanese line of descent). These NGB versions agree on one additional *tshig rkang* which they give in verse 2, which corresponds to an interlinear note in the Dunhuang version, but is not found in the *bKa' 'gyur* editions, nor in the extant Sanskrit root verses that Eastman consulted (see Ch.9 note 5, p.166–167 below). It would appear, then, that this line might have been integrated into the text through copying from a manuscript which, like the main text of the *Thabs zhags* commentary, did not differentiate clearly between the writing of the root text and the commentary.[41] More broadly, it seems safe to say that such apparently faulty mechanisms of scribal transmission may inadvertently introduce variation

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40 The root tantra (*'Phags pa thabs kyi zhags pa pad mo'i phreng don bsdus pa zhes bya ba*) is included in the *rNying rgyud* section of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Kye'i rdo rje'i rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chags*, which was a source for the first sNar thang *bKa' 'gyur*, and it is also in 'Phags pa's slightly later Tantra catalogue; on the latter, see Helmut Eimer 1997: 52. We have not yet ascertained if any Sanskrit original could be found by Bu ston, although this seems unlikely, since the title is not listed in his *Chos 'byung* of 1322–3, nor in his *rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag* of 1339.

41 Note that the *Thabs zhags* manuscript also includes interlinear annotations in small writing, which comment on the commentary.

and elaboration into a scriptural text and may also suggest a striking way in which a textually based ritual tradition may develop without any deliberate rationale.[42]

Questions of historical context

The *Thabs zhags* commentary (IOL Tib J 321), IOL Tib J 331, PT 44 and many other Dunhuang texts open an amazing window onto the ritual and doctrinal world of Tibetan tantra before the gSar ma pas. Among other things, it shows a thoroughly sophisticated and scholarly understanding of *Mahāyoga* Tantrism that is in many ways the equal of the present day tradition. Reading the Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary alongside a learned contemporary rNying ma pa lama, it was striking how familiar much of it was to him. From his point of view, while the *Thabs zhags* certainly has its own particular slant and ritual details, as one would expect from such a doxographically significant tantra,[43] it is not in any way surprising or alien to the contemporary tradition.

The manuscripts we have studied, according to present theory, were probably copied or calligraphed from the late tenth to early eleventh century, although it is often hard to be very clear. In most instances, no-one is yet in a position to present much useful evidence about the provenance and dates of any originals from which they might have been copied. The best we can say in general terms is that the texts we have studied seem to represent a Tibetan Buddhism immediately prior to the gSar ma period.

Taken as a whole, the Dunhuang Tantric collection therefore signals an active Tantric Buddhism in that region by the late tenth century, about which we can say three things:

[1] Significant aspects of the rNying ma tantric practice as we currently know it had already emerged.
[2] Some *Kriyā*, *Caryā*, and *Yogatantra* texts were in use; as well as a very great many *dhāraṇī* texts that were subsequently often classed as *Kriyā* by Tibetan doxographers.
[3] Moreover, PT 849 (Hackin 1924; Kapstein 2006) shows that a handful of early precursors of the *Yoginī* or *Yoganiruttara* tantras later associated with the gSar ma period were already being signalled, including an earlier variant of verses later to be associated with the gSar ma pa siddha tradition of Cintā, consort of Dārikapāda (Kapstein 2006: 23–28). One of the two *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*s, nowadays part of the gSar ma collections, is also cited in PT 849, confirming the veracity of its *bKa' 'gyur* colophon, which mentions a first translation prior even to Smṛti's of the late tenth or early eleventh century.[44]

Unfortunately, the inadequacies and ambiguities in the surviving historical sources from the post-Imperial period means that we are not yet able confidently to contextualise the evidence that the Dunhuang tantric texts offer us.

Paul Smith (1991: 27) and Bianca Horlemann (2005, 2007) have demonstrated that the Tibetan federations in the north-east in the early 11th century were powerful in both military and economic terms, acting as middle-men in trade between China and Inner Asia, especially dealing in horses, and we even know the Chinese rendering of the name of a famous Tibetan leader from that time: Jiaosiluo, who is sometimes

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42 In the Phur pa tradition, two apparently minor scibal variants of a phrase within a key root verse (*srog gi* ***go*** *ru*, or *srog gi* ***sgo*** *ru*) has led to two rather different commentarial elaborations (see Robert Mayer, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection: The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*, Oxford: Kiscadale, 1996: 213–6).

43 The *Thabs zhags* is one of the most important tantras in rNying ma doxography, as we discuss below.

44 The *Vajracatuṣpīṭha* is nowadays seen as a famous gSar ma pa tantra extant in two versions in the *bKa' 'gyur*. The translation of one of the versions before the gSar ma period is supported by its *bKa' 'gyur* colophons, which indicate it was retranslated anew by Smṛtijñānakīrti, implying there had been an even earlier translation before him. The sTog *bKa' 'gyur* catalogue (p. 206) includes the following words in the colophon to one of its two *Catuṣpīṭha* scriptures: *Smṛtijñānakīrtis gsar du bsgyur te*, translated anew by Smṛtijñānakīrti.

suggested as the historical prototype for Gesar.[45] Oblique insights into the social and institutional base of Tibetan life at that time come from Iwasaki (1993), whose old Chinese sources describe a vibrant and populous Tibetan Buddhist culture in nearby Tsong kha at the turn of the eleventh century, with active monasteries. Political leaders with whom the Chinese had to deal at that time were frequently monks, with the title, *Rin po che*. The old imperial usage of *bTsan po* was also current among lay rulers. This fits well with other evidence. In 1990, using Dunhuang texts, Helga Uebach (1990) was the first to demonstrate that a lineage of successors to Śāntarakṣita still bearing the imperial eclesiastical title of *bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs* had persisted at bSam yas, a finding further supported in Kapstein's work on PT 849. More significant still, Uebach also showed that monastic activity, including both ordination lineages and colleges of higher studies, had persisted after Glang Dar ma's time. This was particularly so in the North East, where several of Khri Ral pa can's original religious foundations had been situated, and where they continued unbroken after 842. Ron Davidson (2005: Chapter 3, 84–116) has since sought to expand on Uebach's findings, describing a vigorous tradition of Eastern Vinaya monks at that time. Not for the last time in history, the sudden demise of the Tibetan state in 842 clearly did not signify the sudden demise of Tibetan civilisation, nor the instant deaths of all learned Buddhists. The capacity of commerce, civilisation and culture to continue without a functioning state is amply demonstrated in numerous historical examples, including modern Nepal.

Thus, the evidence we have for a rich and highly developed tantric Buddhist ritual life in Tibet in the pre-gSar ma period, would suggest that far from being a dark and sterile interlude between two great epochs, tenth century Tibet could be seen as one of the most productive and culturally transformative times in Tibetan history. It seems to have been a time in which a warrior aristocracy began to reinvent itself as a spiritual aristocracy; a time in which Buddhism began to displace the indigenous religion as the prime expression of popular piety; and a time in which the rNying ma tradition (and possibly also the Bon tradition) attained a remarkable degree of cultural penetration, spiritual depth, and scholastic and ritual complexity, even if against a background of social and political turmoil.

Condition and Features of the Dunhuang Manuscripts

As noted above (p.1), many of the documents are very well-preserved. As a general point, this tends especially to apply in the case of the *pothī* and concertina style texts, where the condition of the paper may be extremely good with little damage or discoloration, and the ink may remain clear. Where this generalisation does not hold good, in particular, with text fragments, there are obvious limitations in our assessment of the remaining text.

There are a variety of handwriting styles, but there are similarities in some of the handwriting features. In particular, many of the texts are written in a style which is between *dbu can* and *dbu med*, with a slightly greater tendency to resemble *dbu med* or cursive handwriting than *dbu can*, a style which Takeuchi has labelled, the Post-Imperial style.[46] Generally, the writing is easily readable, spelling conventions are not greatly dissimilar from those of later periods (apart from known archaisms such as the *da drag*), and even in the case of what appear to be aide-memoires rather than copied texts, inconsistent or unconventional spellings can often be deciphered. In this respect, also, the *pothī* and concertina type manuscripts, many of which suggest well-made institutional productions, fare rather better than the other types of manuscripts. In the case of the texts we have examined – and it should be borne in mind that this is only a small sample of Dunhuang manuscripts – the scrolls with Tibetan writing have often seemed to represent more ad hoc or less carefully composed writings. In fact, rather than being produced as "scrolls", the writings we have examined

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45 For a discussion and review of scholarly research on Jiaosiluo as the historical basis of the Gesar myth, see George Fitzherbert, 2007: 56 ff.

46 Takeuchi forthcoming, p.2. Sam van Schaik is currently involved in analysis of Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript paleographical features, a preliminary result of which would seem to suggest a community of scribes known to each other (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: xxi).

have often been simply re-using the reverse side of earlier made scrolls of Chinese texts. Even in the case of one of the booklet style manuscripts we have studied, PT 44, some of the paper had been salvaged from a previous document. Under such circumstances, perhaps, it is not very surprising that care and accuracy in the handwriting, and well-spaced out layout of the text, may not always be a prominent feature of these types of manuscripts. However, of the principal texts we discuss in Chapters 4–10, the only manuscript which posed any significant problem due to illegible and fragmented text was PT 349 (see Chapter 8).

Overall, when one considers the age of the materials, their accessibility to us today is amazing. Not only are they generally rather easy to read, but as we shall see, their contents may be extremely familiar to students of later Tibetan tantric traditions. As noted above, in the case of the *phur pa* texts, there are clear continuities with the received rNying ma scriptural and commentarial heritage. At the same time, on occasion there were conceptual difficulties in interpreting some passages of text. Clearly, where we know little or nothing of the context of who wrote the texts and for what audience, where we have litttle idea of the religious and cultural milieu in which the texts were being produced, we do need to exercise caution in interpreting text or identifying parallels with transmitted concepts and rites. We therefore make some distinction between unmistakable continuities and more tentative or possible connotations.

2 WHY DID THE PHUR PA TRADITION BECOME SO PROMINENT IN TIBET?[1]

The unique prominence of the Phur pa tradition in Tibet and the Himalayas raises an interesting question. Phur pa never become even remotely so popular anywhere else in Asia, so why did it in Tibet? In this chapter, we wish to suggest some possible hypotheses that might be fruitfully tested in an attempt to answer this question.

Tibetan Phur pa literature is vast. The Buddhist canonical Phur pa tantras, the innermost core of the tradition, comprises roughly seventy texts in the Bhutanese NGB editions, totalling nearly 4,000 pages. The *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* has forty-eight Phur pa texts, totalling 2,692 pages. A recent collection of Phur pa texts published by Zenkar Rinpoche that includes both *bka' ma* and *gter ma* has over 1,200 texts in 41 volumes, 32,200 pages in all;[2] yet this includes only a representative selection of the vast *gter ma* and commentarial literature. The larger of the surviving Bon *bKa'* editions has seventy-eight Phur pa texts, and the *bKa' brten* has over 350 - the *bKa' brten* Phur pa texts alone filling around 10,000 pages.

Phur pa's popularity in Tibet began in early times, and as we can see, is moderately well represented at Dunhuang. By the dawn of the gSar ma period, Phur pa was already very prominent within the old Tantric lineages, as we know, for example, from such polemicists as Pho brang Zhi ba 'od (b. eleventh century), who produced a long list of Phur pa tantras of which he did not approve (Karmay 1998: 33). Soon the rNying ma pa went on to begin to produce the vast quantities of Phur pa treasure texts that remain famous to this day – for example, those of Nyang ral nyi ma'i 'od zer (1136–1204). Because they believed it had an authentic Indic origin, from the start Phur pa also retained popularity among important followers of the new translations: for example, the 'Khon hierarchs of Sa skya kept up their hereditary rNying ma pa practice of Phur pa, and a good proportion of our most valuable early Phur pa literature comes from such Sa skya pa sources as Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216).[3]

It was also from around the beginning of the gSar ma period that the Bon po began producing their own comprehensive Phur pa literature. The earliest Bon Phur pa seems to have been revealed by Khu tsha zla 'od in the 11th century, although there is perhaps some from gShen chen Klu dga' a few years earlier. There are also less reliable accounts of Bon Phur pa revelations in the 10th century, allegedly among the texts found by three Nepalese yogins and handed to mTha' bzhin 'Phrul gsas. It therefore seems that Bon Phur pa was in general quite well established by the gSar ma period. In addition, various forms of Phur pa practices are also found among ethnic groups across the Southern Himalayan margins of Tibet, but these are beyond the scope of our present study.

Despite this broad popularity across so much of the Tibetan religious spectrum, Phur pa clearly remains a specifically rNying ma (and Bon) tradition: without exception, the root scriptures of the Buddhist Phur pa

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1 An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in 2006, and is due to be published in Orna Almogi (ed.), *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

2 *dPal chen kī la ya'i chos skor phyogs bsgrigs*, 2002.

3 In fact, it seems that much of the Phur pa cycle which is included in Grags pa rgyal mtshan's Collected Works stems from his father, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158). The colophon to the important commentary, the *rDo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa* reads: "*The Realisation of Vajrakīlaya* has been transmitted from the manuscripts of Bla-ma Sa-chen." (/rdo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa bla ma sa chen gyi phyag dpe las brgyud pa yin no// p.182; 367v.1 [=13v.1 in the separate pagination of this group of texts]). Apparently, this text was included in the Record of Mus chen Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1542–1618) as a work of Sa chen (Jan-Ulrich Sobisch 2007: 57–8; see also 67–8, 160). There is a note at the end of the list of contents of the Phur pa cycle in the modern edition of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's Collected Works, xii, after item 105, which also suggests that the prose texts were composed by Sa chen, but edited and brought together in the one place in Grags pa rgyal mtshan's collection (gong gi tshig lhug pa 'di/ sa chen gyis mdzad pa yin na'ang 'dir glegs bam kha langs pa'i ched du phur pa'i sgrub skor rnams/ phyogs gcig tu bsdebs te bris pa rnams bzhugs so/).

tradition are rNying ma. A tiny sample are included within the *rNying rgyud* sections of the *bKa' 'gyur*s, but the vast bulk exist only within the NGB, or within the *gter ma* literature. Thus the Sa skya pa version of Phur pa is little different from the rNying ma pa, and the Sa skya pa Phur pa commentaries depend on exactly the same source tantras as the rNying ma pa – namely, the major NGB Phur pa tantras – even though there is possible evidence that these might have included some of the very texts criticised by Pho brang Zhi ba 'od.[4] The bKa' brgyud pa schools have tended to borrow rNying ma pa Phur pa lineages, rather than preserve their own as the 'Khon lineage have done.

The huge prominence of Phur pa in Tibet is in stark contrast to its very modest profile in other Buddhist cultures. Rituals using *phur pa*s were well-established in Indian Buddhist tantra, but we do not find a developed Phur pa heruka cycle with any kind of prominence, and it is quite likely that the majority of NGB Phur pa tantras were redacted in Tibet. As a result, a broad consensus emerged in 1970's Western Tibetology that Phur pa was something largely indigenous to Tibet, with no significant Indian antecedents. In fact, some early gSar ma pa authors, while convinced that the kīla tradition itself was Indian, had doubted that many of its particular tantric scriptures were of unadulteratedly Indic origins, so that initially none were admitted to the main body of the *bKa' 'gyur* except a small fragment edited by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251). Perhaps influenced by this precedent, R.A. Stein leapt to the false conclusion that the *phur pa* implement was an indigenous device upon which Tibetans had projected Indian conceptual interpretations; others, such as John Huntington and Keith Dowman, broadly agreed with him at first (Stein 1971–2: 499; Huntington 1975: vii; Dowman 1984: 302). With time, these ideas have had to be adjusted.

In his graduate studies in the late 1980's, Mayer pointed out the great wealth of evidence for kīlas throughout South Asian civilisation. This included a significant quantity of evidence from Theravāda sources (Mayer 1991), since the hugely popular Theravāda protective rites known as *paritta* give such great prominence to the *kīla*, for which they usually use the Pali term *indakhīla* (*indrakīla*), meaning the god Indra's *kīla*.[5] In her well-known monograph study of the *paritta* ceremony, Lily de Silva (1981: 57–79) dedicates an entire section to the *indrakīla*, which succinctly sums up Theravāda scholarship's view of the *indrakīla* in the following points: (i) the *indrakīla* is derived from and identified with the ancient Vedic sacrificial stake or *yūpa* (pp. 68–73) (ii) the *indrakīla* is identified with the cosmic Mount Meru or Mount Mandara (pp.64–68) (iii) the *indrakīla* represents the cosmic axis and the pathway between heaven and earth (p.72) (iv) the *indrakīla* represents immovable stability and order (pp. 61–65) (v) *indrakīla*s are used to create an inviolable magical boundary around important spaces (pp. 63–66) (vi) *indrakīla*s represent royal authority (p. 64) (vii) *indrakīla*s can be inhabited by deities and worshipped (p.66) (viii) sacrifice, including human sacrifice, can be associated with them (p.66).

But in addition to those sources that de Silva found relevant to the Theravāda heritage, a huge wealth of further references also exists in South Asian tantric, purāṇic, and other sources. While the sources cited by de Silva have some iconographic similarity to Tibetan *phur pa*s (such as the eight facetted shaft, a round top part, and clearly divided top and bottom halves of equal length), some of the other sources are not infrequently iconographically closer to or even identical with Tibetan *phur pa*s. To give just one among numerous examples, the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*, one of the most famous of the *Śilpaśāstra*s (classic Indian texts on architecture and related disciplines), describes the *stūpikīla*, a ceremonial *kīla* often used as a finial on religious buildings, as follows: "The length (i.e. body) of the *kīla* is stated to be triangular, the base square, the middle part octagonal and the top circular. The width of the kīla should be one *aṅgula*, and it

4 For example, the title *Phur bu Mya ngan las 'das pa* occurs both in Pho brang Zhi ba 'od's *bka' shog* (Karmay 1980: 18), and is referred to in Sa skya Phur pa commentaries, such as the extensive and influential commentary of ('Jam mgon) A myes Zhabs (1597–1659) (21.7; 24.4).

5 As de Silva points out (1981: 57; 68), while *indakhīla* is by far the most usual designation, there are also other terms less frequently used, including the Sinhala *kapagaha* (apparently equivalent to the Pali *ekatthambha*), and *rājagaha*, which she believes most probably has the meaning of 'Royal Tree', although 'Royal House" is also possible.

tapers gradually from base to top".[6] Not only do the classic iconographical definitions of *Mānasāra* specify a triangular kīla, but so do famous Śaiva tantric texts such as the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, and the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* of Nārāyaṇa (Goudriaan 1978: 263, 374ff).[7] Since then, Huntington and other art historians have catalogued surviving Buddhist Heruka Vajrakīlas, perhaps based on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, found as far afield as Hugli, in West Bengal, and Yogyakarta, in Java.[8]

These days, while few doubt its Indic origins, we do surmise Vajrakīla's ritual profile was different in India than in Tibet. The present consensus is that in Indian Buddhism (as in East Asian Buddhism), Kīla was more often a subsidiary ritual element within other Tantric cycles, and comparatively less prominent as an independent deity cycle. In Tibet, by contrast, Phur pa became equally prominent as a component of other cycles and as a very major largely *Mahāyoga* deity cycle in its own right.

Clearly, there was something about Phur pa that found a special resonance among Tibetan and Himalayan societies. In this chapter, we reflect somewhat tentatively on possible cultural and social factors that might account for early Tibet's historic enthusiasm for the *phur pa* traditions.

Cultural Affinities

[1] Our first hypothesis concerns the theme of blood sacrifice. As we shall discuss below, we believe blood sacrifice, and perhaps even in some instances human sacrifice, was a major aspect of pre-Buddhist religion in Tibet; in this context, it might well be significant that by far the most striking feature of the *Mahāyoga* Phur pa ritual is its graphic symbolic re-enactment of a sacrificial blood offering. While many Buddhist tantras contain some sacrificial imagery, Phur pa actually takes a full-scale simulated sacrificial offering of a victim to the Three Jewels as its central ritual (Cantwell 1997; Mayer 1998). The imagery in the deity visualisations draws repeatedly upon the sacrificial theme, and this is brought out further in the *phur pa* rite of *sgrol ba*. The basic procedure is usually to make an anthropomorphic effigy or *liṅga* of a sacrificial victim out of dough, and symbolically to 'kill' and make a sacrificial offering of it to the Three Jewels by use of the *phur pa*, thereby transferring or 'liberating' its consciousness to a higher spiritual level (see above, Ch.1 p.6–9). Symbolically, the anthropomorphic effigy may be personified as the demon Rudra, who represents self-clinging as the source of all other spiritual obstacles, so that transferring the effigy's mind to a higher realm represents liberating one's own – and others' – ignorant fixations into primordial wisdom. The large weight of evidence for it from Dunhuang might suggest that in the tenth century, this sacrificial rite was at least as prominent as it is now.[9] Called 'Liberative Killing', *sgrol ba* in Tibetan, the Indic versions are often referred to in words related to the central term *mokṣa*: for example, as we shall see

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[6] See *Mānasāra*, viii, 147–9; P.K. Acharya, *Architecture of Mānasāra,* Oxford, 1933, 205ff. Cited in Mayer 1991: 169.

[7] Yet it is of interest that these two texts have both apparently incorporated significant Buddhist elements. See Gudrun Bühneman 1999: 303–304.

[8] See Huntington Archive at http://huntingtonarchive.osu.edu/, and search for Vajrakila. One image shows a stone sculpture that conforms with the *Guhyasamāja* iconography for the Heruka Vajrakīla. The entry is as follows:
"*Name: Hugli: Monument: sculpture of Vajrakila; Iconography: Vajrakila; Date: ca. eighth century CE, 701 CE – 800 CE; Material: grey stone; Dimensions: H – ca. 25.00 in; Current Location: Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta, West Bengal, India; Photo Copyright Holder: Huntington, John C. and Susan L.; Photo Year: 1969; Scan Number: 0005993*."
Elsewhere in the same catalogue (as accessed 26 April, 2005), Huntington has written as an introduction to the Tibetan Phur pa deity: "*Vajrakumāra, "Younger Vajra" is the embodiment of a ritual implement of great antiquity. During the period of the Brāhmaṇas (a body of ritual literature dating between 1200 and 800 B.C.E.) the priests "cast" kīlas literally "pegs" in order to control weather and evil forces. Just when these tools came into the Buddhist techniques of benefaction is unclear, but by the seventh or eighth century an array of techniques including the personification, Vajrakumāra, had been incorporated into Tantric techniques*."
Iain Sinclair has also sent us a photograph of a very finely detailed heruka Vajrakīla found near Yogyakarta that also closely conforms with the *Guhyasmāja* iconography, and the sculpture from Hugli. Sinclair estimates this Javanese kīla dates from somewhere between the eighth and twelfth centuries (personal communications, 17th February, 2004 and 9th August, 2007).

[9] As we show in the following chapter.

shortly below, the Netratantra (..*mocayanti ca..* and ...*mokṣaṇa*...) and Kṣemarāja (..*mukti*...) use such terms (Halbfass 1991: 101, 123); similarly the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* talks of *mokṣa* being achieved by the anthropomorphic effigy or *liṅga* being slain through stabbing with a *kīla* (Goudriaan (1985: 277–78); and the Tibetan translators of Bhāviveka translated the term for the Indian ritual school specialising in such practices, the notorious *Saṃsāramocaka*s, with the term *'khor ba sgrol byed pa* (Halbfass p. 100).[10] In rNying ma pa practice, *sgrol ba* comprises one half of the famous pair of *Mahāyoga* rites, when combined together with the sexual rite of 'Union', *sbyor ba*.

The notion of such ritual liberation is undoubtedly Indian in origin and draws on Indian sacrificial ritual categories in considerable detail. For example, in the Śaiva *Netratantra*, and Abhinavagupta's commentary on it in his *Tantrāloka*, ritual killing is seen as helping the victims (*anugraha*, where Kṣemarāja glosses *anugraha* as *mukti*), by releasing the victim from their sins, worldly fetters, and stains (*pāpa, pāśa,* and *mala*). Thus these Śaiva commentators believe that such killing is in accord with non-violence or *ahiṃsā*, and that it constitutes a virtuous and benevolent act of 'liberation' (*mokṣaṇa*), which is not at all the same thing as ordinary killing or harming (*māraṇa*).[11] From Vedic times onwards, it has been a constant theme in Indian blood sacrifice that the victim's consciousness is sent to a higher realm; hence to sacrifice a victim to the gods was (and remains) equivalent to bestowing on the victim a kind of forcible or involuntary liberation or *mokṣa*. While the vast bulk of sacrificial victims are and usually have been animals, Halbfass makes the further interesting point that there was from the sixth century onwards an extensive Indian, often Jaina polemic against literalistic interpretations of *mokṣaṇa* or liberative killing as practised upon unsuspecting specifically human victims. A major target of these polemics was the heterodox school of Saṃsāramocakas, whose name would suggest that such liberative killing was their main focus. Criticism of the Saṃsāramocakas occur in Buddhist, Jain and Hindu sources, and even in Tibetan scholasticism via translations of Bhāviveka's works. Halbfass raises the possibility that the Saṃsāramocakas might never have really existed, but might instead have been a notional school, originally confabulated from an Iranian example, which was sometimes used for philosophical writing and debate as an illustrative negative example (Halbfass 1991:100 ff.) It is not clear to us if anyone has yet explored what bearing, if any, the Saṃsāramocaka debate might have had on the social reception of the Buddhist rites of 'liberative killing'; or on the polemical references to *sgrol ba* in Tibet in the early *gSar ma* period. What is clear, however, is that the principle of sacrificial ritual killing or 'liberation' of both animal and human victims, in which their consciousness was sent to a higher realm, was deeply entrenched in India.

'Liberative killing' also had a major role to play in the all-important task of controlling evil non-human spirits. Especially after the rise of devotional religion with its stress on universal salvation, a fundamentally

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[10] Language as used in real life, especially arcane technical terminology, must always be differentiated from language as given in standard dictionaries. Some might object that the various Indian cognates and variants related to *mokṣa* should properly only translate into the Tibetan *thar pa*; and that *sgrol ba* must needs be a translation of *tāraṇa* or suchlike. Be that as it may, the probably once quite varied Indian terms related to *mokṣa* that were used in the specific sense of rituals of sacrificial liberation, for whatever reason, simply had become associated with the Tibetan word *sgrol ba* by the tenth century, however incorrect that might appear to some contemporary strictly lexicographical analysis. Yet the meanings of the terms *mokṣa* and *sgrol ba* are not after all unrelated, so we do not really find this altogether surprising. We should add, the intellectually naïve rush to 'correct' the Sanskrit found in tantric and other Buddhist texts is often somewhat questionable, since it is well known that the originals were very often not in classical Sanskrit in the first place. For that reason, we have elsewhere preferred to use the very well-known central semantic term *mokṣa* as the easiest Indic word to convey the broader gist of the rite of *sgrol ba* to a general Western audience. The term *mokṣaṇa* is perhaps more classically Sanskritically exact however, so we can perhaps use that term here, so long as our readers remember not to reify it into a 'correct' term.

[11] Halbfass 1991: 101ff. This apologetic is closely mirrored in Tibetan Phur pa texts on *sgrol ba*. One of the most famous and ubiquitous verse within Phur pa *sgrol ba* literature states that "the samaya for killing (and) liberating through compassion, is not really to kill or suppress; (it is) to meditate on the essential vajra nature (of the) skandhas, and on consciousness as vajra" (snying rjes bsgral ba'i dam tshig ni/ bsad cing mnan pa nyid min te/ phung po rdo rje'i bdag nyid de/ rnam par shes pa rdo rjer bsgom/. In other words, *sgrol ba* liberates the victim from all saṃsāric delusion, so that they realise the 'vajra nature'. See Cantwell 1997: 115.

exorcistic model came to be built into this sacrificial theme, which might have been very important for the popularisation of Tibetan *phur pa* rites, as we discuss below. Hiltebeitel and Biardeau (Hiltebeitel 1989:1) have neatly described the recurring theme in Indian religions where the gods convert demons into their devotees, as servants with a specifically protective role, through the process of first killing them, and then resuscitating them. As we shall see in the second hypothesis, p.20-22 below, this is exactly what the rNying ma *Mahāyoga* versions of *sgrol ba* aim to do in their detailed and almost universal employment of the taming of Rudra narrative. In many liturgies and in numerous reiterations of the myth, demonic hell-bound Rudra is first killed, and then resuscitated, upon which he devotedly offers himself as the seat of the victorious Buddhist deities, becoming Mahākāla (or some other benign Protector), now himself safely on the path to Buddhahood.

The Buddhist *Mahāyoga* rite of 'liberative killing' is, like many of the Śaiva versions, symbolic rather than actually sanguinary, and forms a major part of advanced *Mahāyoga* soteriology. Here, a symbolic ritual enactment of the sacrifice of a dough effigy is intended to achieve the forcible liberation of ignorance into wisdom. The Phur pa tantras are without doubt *sgrol ba*'s most famous locus in Tibetan Buddhism; while *sgrol ba* is integrated into the extended rituals of many other rNying ma pa deities, these still normally employ a *phur pa* to effect the actual symbolic killing. At *sgrol ba*'s culmination, the sacrificed effigy is often dismembered, and in the *tshogs* or tantric feast, the effigy may be divided into portions, and offered for consumption so that Buddhas, human yogins, and the lowly excluded spirits each receive their appropriate portion (Cantwell 1997: 112–116; 1989: 197–205).

Mokṣaṇa could equally be performed in Hindu India, as in Buddhist Tibet, by using a *kīla*: to take just one example, *mokṣaṇa* by stabbing an anthropomorphic effigy with a human-bone *kīla* occurs in the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra*.[12] Hence it need be no surprise that sacrificial meanings are inscribed in the very form of the *kīla* or *phur pa* and that this implement carefully replicates the immemorial iconography of the Indian sacrificial stake.[13] In fact, over many hundreds of years, the *kīla* has consistently been identified with the *yūpa*, or Vedic sacrificial stake. We are not sure when this happened, but it was certainly very early: Pali scholars have reported that at least by the time of the appearance of the Pali canon, the *yūpa* and *indrakīla* had become conflated as a single item (de Silva 1978: 244–246). As elaborated in those ancient Vedic texts called *Brāhmaṇa*s, the *yūpa*, as a central implement of Vedic religion, was itself deified, and thus continued to have a manifold ritual life down the centuries. It is one among several ancient Vedic ritual devices that evolved to become part of the common ritual heritage of much of Asia. Nowadays, the *yūpa-kīla* motif still continues in diverse religious contexts, including temple architecture, Theravāda *paritta* ceremonies, and innumerable purāṇic and tantric rites. Thus it is originally from the *yūpa* or Vedic sacrificial stake, and from its complex exegeses in the *Brāhmaṇa* literatures, that the Tibetan *phur pa* very distantly yet quite recognisably inherits the standard canonically required features: the upper and lower part of equal length, the eight-facetted column, the knots at the ends of the column, the *makara* head with *nāga*s, the function of conveying sacrificed victims up to higher realms, the dwelling of the highest deities at its top, its conception as a cosmic axis, the ability to act as a gatekeeper, the ability to kill enemies at a distance, and its threefold lower shaft when used for killing. All of these distinctive features of the Tibetan *phur pa* were first specified in the *Brāhmaṇas* and similar literature for the sacrificial stake or *yūpa*.[14]

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[12] See Goudriaan (1985: 277–278): *mānuṣāsthimayaṃ kīlaṃ kṛtvā tu caturaṅgulam / kṣīravṛkṣaṃ bhage likhya liṅgaṃ vā kīlayet tataḥ // ṣaṇḍilas tu bhavet sādhya ārdrayogo na saṃśayaḥ /uddhṛtena bhaven mokṣaṃ nātra kāryā vicāraṇā //*

[13] For a detailed discussion of this, see Mayer 1991:170–182

[14] Mayer 1991 passim. Some authors do not distinguish between this symbolically very complex Vedic-descended sacrificial tradition, and another group of much simpler *kīla* themes found peripherally in numerous Indian texts of all religions: the simple non-sacrificial magical acts of overpowering enemies with a *kīlaka* or peg. Typically classified within Indian magical categories as *kīlana* 'piercing' or *uccāṭana* 'eradicating', such practices are especially effective against demonic forces or opponents in a dispute, but lack the complex distinctively Vedic sacrificial motifs. In accord with Madeleine Biardeau's landmark study of the Indian sacrificial post, we agree that over the millennia a simpler peg might both diverge and re-merge, terminologically and

We therefore believe that any analysis of the introduction of the *kīla* to Tibet must take cognizance of the inherently sacrificial connotations of this implement within its original South Asian context.

Without elaborating at length on pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion, in short we can say that it is very well known from Dunhuang sources, from contemporaneous Chinese accounts in the *Tang Annals* (Bushell 1880: 441, 475, 488), and from archaeological sources, that blood sacrifice was a crucial feature of pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion. Animals, and possibly also humans, were offered on numerous occasions, such as oath-taking, funerary rites (Tucci 1955: 223; Li and Coblin 1987: 10), and mountain deity rites.[15] Some of the strongest evidence is for large-scale blood sacrifice as a central part of the funerary rites. For example, the Dunhuang text PT 1289 describes *mdzo mo* sacrifice during the funeral rituals; PT 1194 describes the sacrifice of sheep during funerary rituals; PT 1136 describes the sacrifice of horses during the funerary rites; PT 1068 describes general animal sacrifice during the funerary rites. While we cannot be sure of the exact date of these Dunhuang texts, it seems reasonable to infer that they describe non-Buddhist Tibetan traditions. Sacrifice and dismemberment of numerous sacrificial animals is amply confirmed by recent archaeological excavations of 8th to 9th century Tibetan tombs (Heller, 2003).

The latter feature – dismemberment – is as typically significant for Tibetan sacrifice as for sacrifice elsewhere. It is not only something found by archaeologists working on old Tibetan burial mounds, but is also reported in Dunhuang texts – for example, with the yak sacrifice described in Chapter 8 of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and analysed by Nick Allen (1978) and Sandy Macdonald (Macdonald 1980: 203); they reported that ancient Tibetan sacrifice, just like India's prototypical *Puruṣasūkta* (*Ṛgveda* 10.90), involved dismemberment and sharing to reflect social status. Michael Oppitz (Oppitz 1997: 533-4) adds to such analysis in his discussion of Pelliot 1068, and also Pelliot 1038, in which latter dismemberment of the sacrificial animal is seen as a political metaphor. Remnants of these traditions continue in non-Buddhist regional deity rites to this day, where blood sacrifice is a commonplace (Diemberger and Hazod 1997: 273–276), and as we have pointed out above, such dismemberment and sharing of the symbolic effigy-victim also occurs in the *Mahāyoga* tantric feast (Sanskrit: *gaṇacakra*; Tibetan: *tshogs kyi 'khor lo*).

It therefore seems a useful hypothesis to propose that *phur pa* rituals originally appeared so attractive to Tibetans because of their exceptionally strong emphasis on deeply familiar motifs of sacrifice, dismemberment, and hierarchical sharing.

In fact, the above hypothetical proposal now has a tiny bit of direct evidence to support it. Tantric Buddhist *liṅga*s or effigies for suppression of *sri* demons (*sri mnan*) drawn on animal skulls, absolutely exactly as prescribed in the earliest *phur pa* suppression rites,[16] have been found among the vast sacrificial animal remains at two excavated 8th to 9th century Tibetan tombs in Amdo, as Amy Heller (2003) reports. What makes these examples especially interesting is the way in which demons of an important indigenous category – the *sri*, who are unknown in India – become (and are to remain until modern times) prime adversaries of an entirely Indian exorcistic method, as taught in the Vajrakīlaya tantras. Thus these tombs reveal a traditional pre-Buddhist sacrificial burial, but with some evidence of Buddhist syncretism. Unsurprisingly in the light of this evidence, there are also Dunhuang texts, such as PT 239, whose basic gist is to advocate the substitution of non-violent Buddhist funerary rites for the sanguinary indigenous funerals.

[2] Our second hypothesis involves the usage of myth in ritual: as Samten Karmay has pointed out so eloquently, there is ample evidence to suggest that the close linkage of ritual to myth was important to pre-

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conceptually, with the more complex sacrificial post. Nevertheless, as Madeleine Biardeau has pointed out in her study of the Indian sacrificial stake *Histoires de poteaux*, it is very often rash to distinguish between so-called 'great' and 'little' traditions in India. What goes on in the village is often just another form of what goes on in great temples. Biardeau 1989, passim.

[15] See Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 101, for a Buddhist criticism of animal slaughter involved in rites for the deity, Thang lha.

[16] See Boord 2002: 234ff for Phur pa *smad las mnan pa* rites using liṅga drawn on animal skulls.

Buddhist religion in Tibet. The *Mahāyoga phur pa* 'liberative killing' rite closely integrates ritual and myth in a manner similar to the indigenous Tibetan pattern, and this might have contributed to the rapidly achieved popularity of the *phur pa* rituals in early Buddhist Tibet. To introduce this topic, it is useful first to cite one of Samten Karmay's discussions of indigenous Tibetan religion at length:

> "It is not certain whether myth always precedes ritual and, in my opinion, the question remains unsettled. I do not propose to solve the problem here since in Tibetan tradition myth is an integral part of rite. Together with the ritual it forms a 'model' (*dpe srol*). The ritual cannot function without the myth and is therefore dependent upon it. In Tibetan popular rituals, particularly those belonging to the Bon po tradition, the mythical part is called *rabs* (account). In this account, the officiant often identifies himself with the main deity or another character of the myth. In some cases, in order to justify his ritual action or to ensure its efficacy, he recalls that he is a follower (*brgyud 'dzin*) of the master who initially founded the ritual. The latter is therefore situated in a mythical spatio-temporal context. Knowledge of the preceding myth is therefore indispensable in order to perform the ritual action which is seen as the reenactment of the mythical past." (Karmay 1998: 245; see also 288–89, and elsewhere).

We have strong evidence that by the time of our Dunhuang texts, the central Phur pa sacrificial rite of *sgrol ba* or 'liberative killing' was already following just such a pattern of integrating myth with ritual, even if it remains unclear as yet to what proportion this developed in India and to what proportion in Tibet. See, for example, the opening words of IOL Tib J 331.III in Chapter Six, which allude to the taming of Rudra as a charter myth of the *rabs* or *smrang* type,[17] using the very same words on the taming of Rudra that also occur in several NGB texts, such as the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s chapter seven (Mayer 1996: 169) and the *Phur bu Myang 'das*'s chapter three, the theme of which is developed at length in its chapter four (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 129–139).

Central to the rite of *sgrol ba* is the identification of the anthropomorphic effigy victim with Rudra. Rudra is a key figure in rNying ma religion, and understanding of him and his symbolic significance is taught in a very great many rNying ma tantras, very notably in the NGB Phur pa tantras. Thus Rudra's long career will be well known to virtually every member of any rNying ma pa ritual assembly: Rudra's initial spiritual disobedience and misunderstanding, leading to aeons of perdition in the hells, followed by rebirth as a mighty demon, and his eventual rehabilitation by becoming the great original sacrificial victim slain in the great primal act of 'liberative killing' performed by Heruka, at his first manifestation from the combined intentions of all the Buddhas. It is only after being slain that Rudra can be resuscitated as 'good guy': the exorcistic theme that lies at the heart of the Phur pa tantric system. Rudra's preeminent importance thus lies partly in the fact that he himself embodies primal ignorance, and partly in the fact that Heruka was only manifested in the first instance so that Rudra could be defeated. Hence Rudra is at the very core of the major origin and soteriological myths of the entire rNying ma pa version of Vajrayāna itself (Mayer 1998: 271–310). So in every subsequent ritual performance of *sgrol ba* by ordinary Buddhist followers, the yogin must identify himself with Heruka and thus as being the lineal successor of the original primal Heruka who first tamed Rudra in the days of old. In each performance of *sgrol ba*, he reenacts that first ancient taming of Rudra. In this way, each performance of *sgrol ba* envisages a mythical spatio-temporal context, just as Karmay describes, and becomes a reenactment of the mythical past, even down to quite technical details, such as the left-overs or excess offerings in *tshogs* rituals.[18] It is fair to say that the myth of Rudra is so

[17] See Karmay 1998: 288–9, for analysis of how the term *smrang* was used for this kind of origin and archetype myth as used in ritual. The word *rabs* is described in the citation from Karmay above.

[18] Thus, in the account given in the Phur pa root tantra, the *Myang 'das*, the females originally of Rudra's entourage are integrated into the maṇḍala's periphery and become the recipients of the left-over offerings (*Myang 'das* Chapter 4, NGB, D vol. Zha 51r; Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 138). The rite of offering to the peripheral deities is repeated following the principal deities' offerings in each regular *tshogs* ritual.

deeply embedded within the rite of *sgrol ba* that the rite itself would make little sense without an understanding of Rudra and the myths of his taming.

Of course, it is not at all unusual for any religious ritual to be expressive of an underlying myth – the Christian sacraments are an obvious example, and other Vajrayāna myths do likewise – but the typically *Mahāyoga phur pa* sacrificial rite of *sgrol ba* seems to do this much more obviously and with far more dramatic impact than most Vajrayāna rituals. In other words, charter myth structures have a place in many Indian religious contexts, but what is significant in this case is that they were accentuated in a typically Tibetan way as part of the rNying ma indigenising strategy. Hence it is possible that *Mahāyoga*'s *sgrol ba* rite offered ninth and tenth-century Tibetans a deeply familiar sense of the proper functioning of myth within ritual, that was less obviously found in other Tantric Buddhist rituals. Thus, we propose as a hypothesis to be tested that the early Tibetan expectation of *smrang*, *rabs* and *dpe srol* in their rituals helps account for the remarkably enthusiastic take up of the Rudra-taming myth in rNying ma tantrism in general; and that this myth probably found its most perfect and dramatic ritual expressions in the *phur pa* rite of *sgrol ba*, which might have contributed to its particular popularity.[19]

[3] Our third hypothesis is that a number of similar cosmological and religious ideas about sacred mountains are shared between the Indian *kīla* rites and the indigenous Tibetan religion, and that this might also have contributed to making the Indian *kīla* cult attractive to Tibetans.

In India, the *kīla* has long been associated with cosmic mountains, presumably because the popular Vedic, Epic and purāṇic cosmogonic mythologies of the god Indra at some stage came to describe his famous demiurgic exploits in terms of the cosmic axial mountain Mandara being identified as the *Indrakīla*, or Indra's peg. To start with, this cosmic mountain was floating about quite freely and had no fixed place. By fixing it firmly like a peg (*kīla*) to the ocean bed, Indra imposed cosmic order on the preceding chaos, and for the first time brought a life-enabling stability to the world. This was also associated with Indra's taking control of and releasing for the first time the primal life-giving waters, which he achieved through subjugation of the primal serpent demon Vṛtra, who had previously controlled these waters (note that the *kīla* is still the prime instrument for *nāgabandha* rites). Being the cosmic pivot, this huge mountain organised the universe at its origins along a three-levelled vertical axis of heaven above, earth in the middle, and watery underworld below – the Three Worlds so well known from Indian sources. From this myth of Indra and his pegging the earth came the Indian usage of *ku-kīla* (from *ku*, earth, plus *kīla*, peg) – meaning a pin or bolt of the earth, namely a mountain (Monier-Williams 1979: 286). F.B.J Kuijper, who made a major study of it, has summarised the myth as follows:

> "Indra made the mountain firmly rooted in the bottom of the waters. Since this mountain was the cosmic centre, the central point of the earth, the whole earth thereby became firm and steady. Thus the cosmic mountain not only was the origin of the earth, but also came to function as a peg which secured the earth a firm support. This idea still survives in the later literature, where Mt Mandara (= the unmoving) as the cosmic pivot is called Indra's Peg (*Indrakīla*), and the concept of a mountain functioning as a peg is expressed by the term *kīlādri*." (Kuiper 1970: 110).

The Vedic scholar Jan Gonda moreover described the sacrificial post or *yūpa* as being envisaged as the cosmic axis of the Three Worlds, with the heavens at its top, our earth along its visible length, and the watery

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[19] Ronald Davidson (2003: 221ff) has tried to account for the remarkable popularity of the Rudra and Maheśvara taming myths in Tibet solely in terms of their offering a vehicle for affirming an authentic Indic lineage: yet one might object that there are numerous much more direct ways to assert an authentic Indic lineage. Davidson's work perhaps came too early to show any awareness of Karmay's work on the central importance of charter myth systems (*dpe srol*, *rabs*, *smrang* etc.) in indigenous Tibetan religious ritual. But above all, it is the spiritual meanings and ritual enactments which keep the myth alive and robust to this day.

subterranean world of *nāga*s below (Gonda 1965: 230,147). Perhaps this is why, as we have seen above, the *yūpa* and *kīla* (or *indrakīla*) were often conflated items, for example in architectural literature (Coomaraswamy 1938: 18–19), and in much early Buddhist literature (de Silva 1978: 244–246; Mayer 1991:170).

The cult of Indra on the one hand, and of sacrifice (*yajña*) on the other hand, together comprised the two major strands of religious belief in the Vedas (e.g. Klostermaier 1984, section 1). It is therefore no surprise that a cultural artifact that combined a central implement of ancient Indian sacrificial ritual (the *yūpa*) together with a major symbol of the myth of Indra (the *kīla* or cosmic mountain), would be influential enough to become culturally reproduced and re-articulated in numerous different ways throughout subsequent South Asian ritual history. The combined *kīla* and *yūpa* was just such an artifact, and the legacy it has left across Asia is extensive.

As one example of this legacy, Tibetan *phur pa* literature invariably identifies *kīlas* as Mt Meru, here conceived as the axial cosmic mountain which, just like Indra's cosmogonic *Indrakīla*, organises existence along a three-fold vertical division of the Buddhas above, our world in the middle, and *nāga*s below. This association is made explicitly in the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 331.III. The three-fold vertical cosmic axis identification is also made in the material iconography of the *phur pa*: here the lower world of the *nāga*s is represented by the mouldings of a makara's head and descending *nāga*s that ornament the lower triangular blade of the implement; our intermediate world is represented by the eight-facetted shaft above it; and the heavenly realms above ours are intimated by the Buddha or Heruka heads that crowns the implement. Extremely similar or even identical iconographic features are also shared by the *yūpa*, the Vedic-derived sacrificial post (see Mayer 1991:168 ff.).

There are also further possible references to the cosmic mountain in Phur pa ritual. One of the most widely known stories in Indian mythology concerns the churning of the ocean by the combined forces of the devas and asuras, to acquire the *amṛta* of immortality. For their churning stick, they used the cosmic mountain Mandara, which they rolled by alternately pulling on either end of the serpent Vasuki, who was twisted around Mt Mandara as the churning rope. In most of the Epic versions, this churning produced various essences which arose from the ocean: the great treasures of the wish-granting cow, goddess of wine, the precious elephant, the wish-fulfilling jewel, the sun and moon, and so on, including the great poison, and the *amṛta*, which was taken by the gods, to the fury and envy of the demons.[20] In *Mahāyoga* ritual, the Vajrakumāra (Phur pa) heruka is invariably described as rolling (*'gril* or *'dril*) the Mt Meru *phur pa* in his two lower hands.[21] Moreover, in ritual practice, rolling the *phur pa* between the two hands is an important feature of the rite, generally preceeding the ritual striking of the effigy and often included, for instance, in the activities which the initiate should perform in the course of the empowerment.[22] It is possible that this central aspect of the ritual symbolism might have some relation to the Hindu mythology of the cosmic mountain as the churning stick. Connected closely with the *sgrol ba* rite, the ritual performance seeks to bring forth the pure essence or consciousness of the rite's object from the ocean of saṃsāra, and send it to the immortality of the Buddha field. In this case, the great poison is not one of the essences produced, but the essence of the ocean of saṃsāra to be destroyed.[23] At the same time, the meditative absorption of the evil one's life energies and fortunes, which is often part of the ritual process of *sgrol ba*, may have overtones of

[20] There are many versions of the myth. For the Mahābhārata account, see O'Flaherty 1975: 274–280.

[21] A typical line from a contemporary sādhana reads: "(His) last two (hands) roll and strike (with) a Mount Meru *phur bu*" ("tha gnyis ri rab phur bu 'dril zhing 'debs" *bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri las byang* Vol. Tha: 95).

[22] See, for example, the empowerment ritual (*dbang chog*) for the *bDud 'joms phur pa spu gri reg phung* Vol Ba: 611.1–2).

[23] Consider: "in really rolling and brandishing (the ritual *phur pa*), so that the three poisons are cut off at the root..." ("rab tu dril te gsor byas na: dug gsum rtsa ba rtsad bcad phyir:" *bDud 'joms phur pa spu gri reg phung* Vol Ba: 611.1–2) or "fortunate noble (student), by entrusting you (with the ritual *phur pa*), may (you) gain the power to kill and liberate the complete three worlds (of) saṃsāra" (skal ldan skyes bu khyod la gtad pa yis: khams gsum 'khor ba yongs sgrol dbang thob shog:" *bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri rtsa dbang* Vol. Tha: 626).

the production and consumption of the elixir of immortality. One commentarial gloss on the action of rolling in the context of a *sgrol ba* rite advises that it should be done while directing the tip of the *phur bu* towards the effigy's heart, meditating that light rays blaze forth from the *phur bu*, penetrating the effigy, burning up the evil and defilements, upon which the vibrant lustrous creative juice of the life-span and fortunes of the hostile forces are merged together and dissolved into the *phur bu*.[24]

We also witness some instances of the rolling of the *phur pa* as initiating an alternative creation scenario to that suggested by the Hindu gods and demons generating desire and envy for the cosmic ocean's purest essence. In the context of a *rakta* (blood) offering, the *rakta*, embodying the consciousness of hostile forces and obstacles, is visualised within a stomach bag in front of the practitioner. Rolling the *phur bu*, the appropriate mantra is recited, and the stomach bag is pierced with the *phur bu*, so that the blood swirls forth creating an ocean, and *rakta* goddesses are emanated from it. Offering the *rakta* to the maṇḍala deities, the deities are satisfied and the desires of the three worlds are exhausted.[25] In the actual liturgy to be recited, it is made clear that again, the offering is made, "in order to empty the whole (of) the three worlds (of) saṃsāra".[26] So here, we have a parallel to figures emerging from the churned ocean, but the imagery suggests an inversion of the Meru myth – blood rather than water or milk, and the object of emptying saṃsāra.

There is a rather different version of this ritual rolling in which it is not associated with an act of *sgrol ba*, but with a five family consecration or empowerment ritual. Variants are found throughout the transmitted tradition, as well as being witnessed in IOL Tib J 331.III, and also alluded to in other Dunhuang texts. In the context of IOL Tib J 331.III (f.5v; see Ch.5 p. 75, 80–83, and Ch.6 p.101–106), it marks the climax of the section for consecrating the *phur pa*. Here, the fingers of the two hands become the male and female deities of the five buddha families, and they unite as the hands are moved in rolling the *phur pa*. Bodhicitta is produced from the union, consecrating the *phur pa*, and the ritual activity also produces sparks of fire, generating wrathful emanations. In this case, we have the two hands, the male and female deities, together performing the rolling, rather as the Hindu gods and demons cooperate to move Mount Meru back and forth, and it is as though the rolling movement is instrumental in activating the deities to unite and create offspring, although the overall focus of the rite is on dissolution into and consecration of the ritual implement itself.

There is not necessarily any direct connection between the Meru mythology and the rolling of the *phur pa* in Tibetan ritual. What is interesting in all these examples of the ritual rolling of the Mount Meru *phur pa* is that without any explicit reference to or memory of the myth of the cosmic mountain as a churning stick, there would seem to be a kind of development of the symbolism, and this is enacted throughout ritual performances in the Tibetan Phur pa tradition.

It is clear that the manner in which the *phur pa* is associated with a cosmic vertical axis resonates very closely indeed with pre-Buddhist Tibetan cosmological ideas. It minutely resembles, even in its terminology,

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[24] "dmigs bya'i snying dkar nag mtshams su gtad de bsgril bas phur bu las 'bar ba'i 'od zer gyis kho'i sdig sgrib thams cad bsreg/ tshe bsod bkrag mdangs kyi dwangs ma thams cad bsdus nas hūṃ du gyur pa de phur bu la thim/" (*bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Vol. Da: 134).

[25] "mdun du gnod cing 'tshe ba'i dgra bgegs kyi rnam par shes pa'i ngo bo thig le dmar po nṛ dang tri yig gis mtshan pa zhig tu hril hril 'dug pa de las 'od 'phros pas gnod byed dgra bgegs thams cad kyi bla srog rnam par shes pa bkug nas thim ste yongs su gyur pa las khrag gi grod thum ri rab tsam pa zhig tu gyur par bsam la sras mchog gi phur bu 'dril zhing/ oṃ badzra kī li kī la ya sarba sha truṃ mā ra ya hūṃ phaṭ: ces brjod de phur pa btab pas de rdol ba las byung ba'i khrag rgyun sngar byin gyis brlabs pa'i rakta dang 'dres nas stong gsum khrag gi rgya mtshor 'khyil ba las rakta'i lha mo 'phro bas dkyil 'khor pa mchod pas rab tu mnyes pa chen por gyur/ khams gsum gyi 'dod chags thams cad zad par mdzad par bsam/" (*bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Vol. Da: 110–111).

[26] "khams gsum 'khor ba ma lus stong bya'i phyir:" (*bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri las byang* Vol. Tha: 118).

the fundamental indigenous Tibetan vertical threefold cosmos of the *lha* of the sky, *btsan* of the earth, and *klu* of the underworld: the structure known as *gnam sa 'og* or *gnam bar 'og*.[27]

The Indian identification of the *kīla* with the cosmic mountain also resonates well with the complex associations of mountains with religious beliefs in indigenous Tibetan religion – but here we have to be cautious in specifying exactly how, because there does not seem to be any very clear consensus among scholars about pre-Buddhist Tibetan beliefs regarding mountains. Some generally agreed themes do emerge however: for example, that a mountain was the conduit from the heavens down which the first king descended to earth; that a list of nine particularly sacred mountains was counted in old Tibet, some of which – notably gNyan chen Thang lha and Yar lha Sham po – still retain considerable religious significance;[28] that mountain deities had considerable political significance, so that obtaining a privileged relationship with or being considered the descendant of the mountain deity controlling a region was synonymous with political control of that territory; that sacrifice was (and still is) offered to mountain deities to obtain or celebrate such a privileged descent or relationship; and that it is the mountain deities who confer upon the leading political male of their region courage, mental strength and protection.

At least some of this can be related to the Phur pa cult: just as the indigenous Tibetan idea was that the roadway to heaven was directly above a sacred mountain, so also in Phur pa rites, the Buddha realms are envisaged as directly above the Mt Meru *phur pa*. In this way, the *phur pa* functions as a two-way conduit to the divine upper realms, on the one hand bringing down the power of the Buddhas from above, on the other hand, allowing access to the heavens to those below. This is very much like the sacred mountains that the first kings traversed in indigenous Tibetan mythology (Karmay 1998: 294 ff). Similarly, and perhaps more significantly, like the sacred mountains of pre-Buddhist Tibetan cults, the Buddhist Mt Meru *phur pa* also has as its primary function the transmission of good order and stability from the top down, since Vajrakīlaya is specifically the deity of enlightened activity (*'phrin las*) whose main function and purpose is thus to tame unruly and disordered beings (like Rudra) and establish the rule of Buddhist law. Moreover, like the figure of the fierce, authoritative and invariably male Tibetan mountain deity, the Phur pa heruka also is fierce, authoritative, and invariably masculine. Like the mountain deity and the human chieftain who serves him,

27 An important Dunhuang text (IOL Tib J 711) seemingly equates the three worlds of the Indians and the Tibetan *gnam bar 'og* (Dalton and van Schaik 2005: 293; 2006: 308–9). Dalton's entry says, "many Hindu deities are mentioned, and there is a brief discussion of the *the'u rang* spirits (see 4r.1–4v.1). The latter appear in a section in which the three worlds of Indian mythology (*khecara*, *bhūcara*, *nāgaloka*) seem to be likened to the three worlds of pre-Buddhist Tibetan mythology (*gnam bar 'og*)." The passage concerned does not make the association explicit, but Dalton, who expects to publish an analysis in a forthcoming book, argues that it is implicit (personal communication, March 2007). For Haarh's reflexions on *gnam sa 'og* , see Haarh 1969:161. Haarh feels *gnam*, or heaven, might be a further addendum to an originally two-fold structure. Haarh writes: "The ancient pre-Buddhist and pre-Bon concept of existence seems to have comprised two worlds of existence, that of *man* or *sa*, the earth, and that of the defunct of *'og*, the underworld. The idea of heaven (*gnam*) in the sense of a third and upper sphere of the world may be a later development, which is somehow connected with the rise and spread of the (organized) Bon religion in which a particular significance and importance is ascribed to Heaven or *gnam*. The idea of the world as a *ga'u*, the closed space of *gnam-sa*, seems to represent an intermediate stage of development towards the idea of world of three spheres." On *gnam sa 'og*, see also the English translation of Haarh's 'Danish summary', as extracted in McKay 2003 Vol.1: 143. See also Stein 1972: 203–4 – yet we feel some of Stein's description of Tibetan mountains, eg as *sa'i phur bu*, and as Indra's Pegs, (p.208) is probably post-Buddhist, and not part of the ancient 'nameless religion'. Likewise Katia Buffetrille's article (1996) possibly represents a reiteration of old Indian mythic ideas derivative of the ancient story of the cosmic mountain or kīla floating about, before Indra stabilised it.

28 See Karmay 1998: 435, where he cites Dunhuang sources for these politically significant mountain deities, and also Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 97-103 for an early Buddhist presentation of a Bon-Buddhist dispute over the role of these deities. This group of nine moumtains also comes to us in the *Can lnga*, a group of very early texts known to us only indirectly from their citation in the *sBa zhed* and some of the earliest *Chos 'byung* texts, where, as Karmay points out, they underwent some transformation. See Karmay 1998: 282-309, especially 300 ff.

the Phur pa deity is also pre-eminently involved in sacrificial ritual (the one actual, the other symbolic). The resemblances are not in all cases overwhelmingly exact, but still of definite interest.[29]

Tibetan tumulus burials and tombs are seen by some as a further development of the *btsan po* and mountain cult. Here the tumulus is said to represent the world, while a pillar is placed above it, which some interpret as representing the cosmic axis and link between worlds, and as receptacle for the soul. This might also have offered some possible resonances with the imported Buddhist kīla.[30]

The themes of sacrificial ritual, the three-fold vertical axial cosmology, and the various ramifications of the mountain cults, are probably the most important hypotheses to test in seeking cultural affinities between Phur pa and the earlier Tibetan religion. Perhaps these resemblances might even be strong enough to suggest shared cultural origins in some cases. However, there are also more tentative cultural affinities that we can mention.

[4] A further hypothesis concerns the idealisation of the figure of the warrior prince. The proper name of the Buddhist Phur pa heruka is Vajrakumāra, the Vajra Prince or Youth. This name already occurs in the Dunhuang text PT 44 (see folios 13 and 33, in Chapter 4 below, p. 53, 60, 65). Vajrakumāra is presented as Buddhism's premier demon-defeater, hence his niche in Buddhism generally resembles that of the Hindu's Skandha Kumāra, the warrior youth and general of the gods, who wields a short stabbing spear, and who was enormously popular among pre-Muslim north Indian martial elites, including the Gupta emperors, two of whom took his name.[31] It is interesting in this respect that Tucci and Haarh believed the Tibetan *btsan po*s acceded to power at a youthful age, (usually symbolically represented as thirteen) with the elimination or ritualised returning of their predecessor back to his heavenly origins. Although most anthropologists would justifiably find this rather unlikely as an actually occurring practice,[32] it probably does indicate an ideal for a youthful virile ruler, symbolically linked to the health and fertility of the land and people. The *Tang Annals* likewise disdained a Tibetan culture that radically privileged youth and strength over age (Tucci 1955: 217; Bushell 1880: 442). If Tucci and the Tang annalists' understandings had at least a grain of truth, which seems eminently possible, the image of a powerful youthful warrior deity, similar to one so popular among North Indian power elites, might have had resonance in Tibet.

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[29] There are also interesting contrasts. For instance, the gender symbolism involves slightly different connotations. Buddhist Phur pa certainly expresses the same masculine aggressive imagery, which may on occasion include violent sexual domination (Cantwell 2005: 19), but the main meditative sādhana practice involves the integration of male and female aspects in the Phur pa deity's union with his consort (and in the similar male-female pairs in the retinue). Moreover, while mountain deity cults tend to be associated with male authority and may reserve some important ritual roles for men (Diemberger 1994: 146–8; 1998: 46–7; Diemberger and Hazod 1997: 272), the most advanced Buddhist Phur pa rites are open to female practitioners, and one theme in the mythological histories is the prominent role of key female exemplars in the early Phur pa transmissions. This point especially applies to Ye shes mtsho rgyal, who has a pre-eminent role amongst the first Tibetan Phur pa masters who were disciples of Guru Padma, but one might also mention the Indian female yogin who is considered the fount of the *bKa' brgyad* lineages, Las kyi dbang mo, as well as Ye shes mTsho rgyal's student, Jo mo cog ro bza', who is remembered for failing to relate to Guru Padma with the appropriate kind of faith one should have in a vajra master, but who later redeemed herself by following Ye shes mtsho rgyal, giving rise to the *lcam lugs* line of transmission (see, for instance 'Jigs med gling pa's *Phur pa rGyud lugs* cycle's *chos 'byung*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* Volume Ja, p.13).

[30] Tucci 1955: 219,223–4; Haarh 1969: 356; Heller 2003; and for Chinese records, see Bushell 1880: 443.

[31] There are many important links and parallels between the Hindu Kumāra deity and his various Buddhist counterparts, which deserve a full scale study in due course. One must note, however, that the links between the Northern Indian Skandakumāra or Kārttikeya and his southern Indian counterparts Subrahmaṇya or Murugaṇ are complex, even if the two are often seen as identical in popular literature. Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka has a very deep relationship with Subrahmaṇya or Murugaṇ in the form of Kataragama, and Skanda or Kārttikeya, are important in East Asian Buddhism, as is Vajrakumāra (see Mayer 2007). The connections between these various forms of Skandakumāra and his Theravāda, Tibetan and East Asian counterparts is an interesting topic worthy of further research. An early and incomplete start on such research can be found in Mayer 1991: 189-191.

[32] Dotson (forthcoming) discusses this issue in considerable detail.

Several scholars have suggested that the succession of Tibetan sacral kings was conceived as the serial reappearances on earth of the same divine ancestor; if so, successive holders of the early hereditary Phur pa lineages could similarly present themselves as serial reappearances of the same deity – although this is of course a distinction not unique to Phur pa (Tucci 1955: 218–9; Haarh 1969: 333).

Social conditions

As well as cultural affinities, we must also consider social conditions. The period when Phur pa literature seems to have begun really to flourish in Tibet was the aftermath of the imperial collapse, a time of civil disintegration, constant warfare, and a struggle between clans for territory and status. We can infer it was also a time of remarkable cultural and religious productivity, even if we now lack many of the documents that might have illuminated exactly how this transpired (Davidson 2005: 63). It was also the time when Tantric lineages in both Central Tibet and East Tibet were often continued within hereditary aristocratic clans, as aristocrats established themselves as lamas (Iwasaki 1993). A distinctive ideology of these times was thus a nostalgic reverence for the greatness of the now lost empire and its Buddhist kings (Kapstein 2000: 141ff); hence rNying ma histories to this day emphasise the royal and aristocratic origins of the Phur pa lineages, which are typically traced to Guru Padma's transmissions to the Emperor, his queens, and his ministers. The relevance of Phur pa to such conditions of social disorder, accompanied by a productive religious culture and a nostalgia for order's restoration, is obvious: the most fundamental socio-political symbolism of the *kīla* in Asian civilisation, as Lily de Silva points out, includes not only royal authority, but also civilisation itself: "This symbolism of the *indrakīla* is further substantiated by *dassukīla* which is its direct opposite. *Dassukīla* simply means a lawless disorderly state of affairs. When the two Pali words *indakhīla* and *dassukhīla* are taken side by side one sees how the former is employed symbolically to mean well established authority and civilized lawfulness while the latter is employed to mean wild lawlessness." (de Silva 1981: 64)

[5] Given the civil strife and political chaos of the times, another hypothesis can be proposed in connection with Phur pa's multifarious special functions as a subjugator and protector of territory. One of the main features of the *kīla* in India was its role as boundary protector, especially of sacred or important sites. Examples of this are found in innumerable and diverse sources, from the Pāli canon, to the purāṇas, to the tantras (Mayer 1991: 176–181). In the tantric cycles that came to Tibet, this clearly had both symbolic and magical connotations: on the one hand a ring of *phur pa*s delineate a perimeter symbolically, but more than that, the fierce *phur pa* deities also defend one's territory with their magic force. For example, closely integrated into the Phur pa liturgy in several Dunhuang texts, including the *Guhyasamājatantra* and several of the other texts analysed here, is the *karmaḍākinī* goddess rDo rje sder mo, or Vajra Claw. Her role is to protect the yogin's domestic space, his family, his friends and his allies. Connected with such protective functions are the *kīla's* roles in the initial establishing of control over spaces for the first time, as in the so-called *nāgabandha* rites found in such Indian ritual-architectural texts as the *Śilpaprakāśa*.[33] Both these types of spacial functions constitute an absolutely standard usage of the *phur pa* in Tibet, and are found in many Dunhuang texts, such as IOL Tib J 384, where *phur pa*s defend the perimeter of a maṇḍala. One can speculate that these various territorial ritual functions might have made Phur pa useful to local rulers, who repeatedly had to establish, defend and re-establish their own territory and renew or rebuild castles and temples, in the chaotic post-imperial situation.

[6] A further hypothesis is connected with the Phur pa deity's potential use in political deal-making. Practitioners of the Phur pa heruka were promised the reward of very particular Phur pa siddhis most useful as an adjunct to diplomacy in violent times. As the famous root verses of its tantras tell us, in words incorporated into every Phur pa *sādhana* almost without exception, Phur pa was the most effective deity of

[33] These rites are often known as *nāgabandha*. See Mayer 1991: 167–171 On the role of ritual *phur pa*s in Tibetan versions of these rites, see Cantwell 2005: 14–19.

all for specifically eradicating aggression and enmity from the very root.[34] In similar vein, it claimed pre-eminence in curing bad faith, and reconciling enemies: all indispensable assets for those attempting to build and maintain alliances in a chaotic political situation. The strong linkage of rNying ma *Mahāyoga* with issues of good faith, or *samaya*, is interesting. *Dam sri* demons – which are evil influences that create and are created by breaches of religious good faith – are extraordinarily important in Phur pa literature, sometimes even described as the single major cause of suffering throughout the universe. The Phur pa literature's mythic scenario of Rudra's development as the archetypal embodiment of evil is presented as a story of a catastrophic breach of good faith, followed by eventual redemption through the Phur pa sacrificial rite of *sgrol ba* – see, for instance, the account in the seminal and probably early Phur pa commentary, *Phur pa 'Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 129–130). Thus, Khenpo Namdrol (1999: 43) emphasises the importance of Phur pa for overcoming the *dam sri* and *rudra*s caused by breaches of *samaya*, and the vital need to do this for tantric practitioners who will otherwise be obstructed.

It is interesting that oath-taking and treaty-making were among the occasions that required blood sacrifice in pre-Buddhist Tibet. The main idea here seemed to have been that the parties to the oaths will suffer the same terrible fate as the cruelly sacrificed victims, if they break the oaths. A second idea, which might refer more to Chinese thinking than Tibetan, is that the spirits of the sacrificial victims become guardian spirits to enforce the oaths (Bushell 1880: 441, 475, 488). In the emerging increasingly Buddhist context, sharing the Phur pa sacrificial *tshogs* might have seemed a viable alternative method for building or repairing bonds between differing parties, offering cultural continuity through its mock-sacrificial substitute of an effigy or *liṅga* for the traditional blood sacrifice at such occasions. In the political chaos of tenth century Tibet, such bonding functions might have appeared particularly valuable.

We believe that this point addresses an over-emphasis on political domination in assumptions about the social significance of *phur pa* practices. No careful sociological study of these issues has yet been attempted. Understandably, scholars may form an impression from later accounts of *phur pa* rituals in the context of wars and political strife which would suggest an expression purely of conflict.[35] Such an impression would be slightly misleading in neglecting this important contrasting yet actually complementary dimension of *phur pa* ritual as directed towards overcoming social discord and promoting integration.

[7] Our seventh hypothesis concerns Padmasambhava. Extremely significant for Phur pa's popularity must have been its prestige as one of the main chosen deities of Padmasambhava. We can infer from PT 44 that Padmasambhava's close and particular personal association with Phur pa was a well established narrative by tenth century Tibet. We also know from the *dBa'/sBa bzhed* (e.g Wangdu and Diemberger 2000), PT 44 and PT 307 (Dalton 2005: 764ff), that Padmasambhava was by the tenth century already considered preeminent among Buddhist conquerors of local deities. Although in very early sources many of these were female deities, or deities connected with water, other early sources also apparently mention his conquest even of the major politically significant male mountain deities: see for example a passage in the *dBa' bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 53), where Padmasambhava apparently subdues Thang lha, one of the politically most prominent of the nine major mountain deities.[36] In so far as this was the case, it must have had extremely important implications in Tibetan politico-religious thinking, since ritual control of such fierce

[34] The pertinent line reads: *rdo rje khros pas zhe sdang gcod*: these words or variants on them are at the very heart of almost every Phur pa *sādhana* and tantra (see above Chapter 1, p.6).

[35] For instance, an account of the exploits of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, a famous ninth-century figure of the early rNying ma pa lineages, discusses his use of *phur pa* rites to quell the political disturbances of marauding brigands, and to intimidate King Langdarma, so that his students were left in peace (Dudjom 1991: 611–2). The impression of the rites being used as part of political conflict may be reinforced by consideration of destructive ritual more generally: the Fifth Dalai Lama's record of his spiritual experiences includes mention of destructive rites performed against the gTsang forces (Karmay 1988: 9, 29, 178–9). Such colourful accounts of the apparent impact of the rites on the everyday world may rather detract attention from other types of social significance which the performances may also have.

[36] Mention of Thang lha within the Dunhuang sources as a crucial political mountain is analysed in Karmay 1998: 297.

male mountain deities was understood by pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion as constituting in itself a powerful and necessary spiritual correlate for assumption of actual political control over their associated territories, strongholds and clans. Karmay, for example, explores this ritual political significance of the mountain deities in his discussion of the usage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* of the sentence *dvags po lha de dgug pa*, 'to summon the deity of Dvags po', which Karmay interprets in its context to indicate the summoning of the mountain god of Dvags po as a prelude to the re-conquest of Dvags po by the Yarlung kingdom (Karmay 1998: 440). The term is also in other parts of the *Chronicle*: in a long narrative, it is explained how the major kings established their power over the smaller kings, mastering them one by one, in a process that combined ministerial cunning with military might, and, in the final analysis, magic power.[37] A similar theme emerges in the *lDe'u chos byung* account of the origin myth of the first king, where the specific requirement for the new monarch is that he must have magic powers (Karmay 1998: 299).

Mastery of Phur pa seems to have offered an appropriate type of magical power for a monarch: it conferred the *siddhi* of enlightened activity with all its attendant magic power over life and death, it was connected with defence of boundaries, and with taming beings to create good order and good faith between them. Being increasingly perceived in addition as Padmasambhava's main method of controlling the gods and spirits of Tibet, it might well have offered considerable psychological and spiritual advantages to those among the post-Imperial Tibetan clan leaders hoping to achieve political power.

[8] Our eighth hypothesis concerns the capacity of the Phur pa tantric system for assimilation of local Tibetan deities and spirits, which we see as a direct outcome of the *phur pa*'s quintessentially exorcistic mode of practice. This capacity for assimilation through exorcism is of course a fundamental aspect of many Tantric systems, both Śaiva and Buddhist, and is not to be confused with hybridity in any simple sense (Hiltebeitel 1989:1ff). Phur pa's fundamentally exorcistic ritual core will have made it more suited than most for such assimilation.

Firstly, this meant that Phur pa's Indian-based exorcistic methods could easily be re-deployed against indigenous categories of spirits without in any way compromising the Buddhist system at the heart of the Phur pa system. We have already mentioned one such example above, where the indigenous Tibetan *sri* demons become a target of *phur pa* rites. By promising Tibetans a highly effective method for controlling *sri*, Phur pa could make itself popular and relevant. To this day, *sri* remain a significant target of Phur pa tantric cycles, especially the special *sri mnan* branch of the practice.

Another category of indigenous deity for which the Phur pa tradition made an early accommodation are the *'go yi lha* or *'go ba'i lha*. These five benign protective deities are naturally indwelling within every human being. There are some variant forms of these, but a typical enumeration might be that the *srog lha* dwells upon the head; the *pho lha* upon the right shoulder; the *ma* (or *mo*) *lha* upon the left shoulder; the *sgra* (or *dgra*) *lha* in front of the head; and the *zhang lha* at the back of the head. According to Karmay they originated as an important part of the pre-Buddhist pantheon (Karmay 1998: 129, 149) and their names and symbolic dispositions – for example, the maternal uncle or *zhang lha* offering background support – certainly invoke quintessentially Tibetan kinship categories. In a famous NGB Phur pa tantra that seeks to be Indic in the main body of its text, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, nevertheless a definite accommodation is made to these deities. While the Phur pa tantras are not the only Buddhist tradition to have accommodated these deities, the way that the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* does it, and the text's possible great antiquity and its attempted Indic style contents, make the accommodation interesting. Chapter 9 of this text is devoted to the subsidiary rite (*smad las*) of symbolically killing adversaries with the *phur pa*. Here we find that the adversaries' benign *'go yi lha* are separated from their evil aspects, before the killing is effectuated. Otherwise, one would incur the sin of killing benign deities. While this outlook is entirely consonant with Buddhist doctrine – one is

[37] See Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint 1940–1946: 81; 85: *thun ni rje thun gyis bthun te bgug go*: "regarding magic power – bewitched by the royal magic, [they] were summoned" (our re-translation, in the light of Karmay 1998: 440).

symbolically destroying the sins, not the virtues or Buddha nature of the victim, and there is no reason to believe that Indic ritual need reject in principle such a separation of the good from the bad elements before effecting the killing – the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* nevertheless is happy on this occasion to present its message in the specifically indigenous symbolic language of *'go yi lha*.[38] Such a separation of the benign *'go yi lha* before effectuating the *phur pa* strike remains a regular feature within many modern Phur pa texts too.

Since a standard Indian tantric method of exorcism envisaged the 'taming' of hostile or indigenous deities and their conversion into helpful servant deities, Phur pa could also afford the more radical strategy of directly integrating indigenous deities into its *maṇḍala* at the periphery, without being in any way compromised by this. Such strategies were very widely practised in Indian tantrism, allowing the socially expansive integration of originally outsider deities into Śaiva or Buddhist systems; hence their application to indigenous Tibetan deities could have been neither unexpected nor controversial. A good example of the rNying ma tradition accepting this process is found in the famous Phur pa protector deities, who, according to PT 44 (see below, Ch. 4 p. 45–47) and all subsequent Phur pa *lo rgyus* texts, first become integrated into the Vajrakīlaya *maṇḍala* by Padmasambhava at Yang le shod in Nepal (identified by tradition as a site close to Pharping). Yet by the time the above-mentioned *Phur pa bcu gnyis* was codified, this predominantly Indic text had included some phrases into three of its chapters to represent these apparently newly added deities as protectors of the Phur pa tantras – very much as described in PT 44.[39] Being goddesses directly tamed by Padmasambhava, they are nowadays very popular indeed among Buddhist Phur pa practitioners as protective deities, and much liturgy and commentary has been written for them.

[9] Our ninth hypothesis concerns the way in which the ritually and cosmologically important idealised figure of the Tibetan Emperor was adapted to post-Imperial conditions. While no clan or party ever succeeded in reunifying the empire, local leaders adopted the imperial title of *bTsan po* and often emphasised their lineal descent from Imperial circles: to some extent, they aspired to fulfil locally, in an appropriate form, the ritual and political role once held by the Emperor on a much greater stage. That greater Imperial role is excellently summed up by Brandon Dotson in his description of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which is our main source for the ideology of the Emperor:

> "The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* is not overtly didactic in the manner of early Chinese histories. At the same time, it has a clear interpretive framework: its unswerving agenda is to present the Tibetan emperor as the *axis-mundi*—the link between heaven and earth and the ordering principle by which the ways of the gods are imposed upon men. The chapters of the *Chronicle*, beginning with one of the first mythical Tibetan kings and ending in the late eighth century, set out the proper relationship between ruler and subject. In so doing, the document bears witness to the contractual rule on which the Tibetan kingship was based, and constitutes a charter for early Tibetan political theory. As such, it is the single most important document relating to early Tibetan identity and political thought, and contains concepts that can be charted

[38] Thanks to Alak Zenkar Rinpoche for his advice on this passage, which occurs in the sDe dge edition at folios 215r–215v:
It is important [first] to separate out the protective deities within the body [of the victim].
Then suppress and beset [those evil elements] that are unable to flee,
Appropriate their occult force and magical power,
And render their limbs incapable of fighting back;
Strike [them] with the *phur pa* of the Vajra Wrathful One!
/'go ba'i lha dang dbral ba gces/
/'bros kyis mi thar gnan gzir bya/
/mthu dang rdzu 'phrul phrogs pa dang/
/yan lag 'khu mi nus par bya/
/rdo rje drag po'i phur pas gdab/

[39] Whether the goddesses were added to the text, or whether they had been present earlier, but were later interpreted as subjugated at the moment of Tibet's integration to the Phur pa maṇḍala, the principle remains that their presence – as goddesses connected with Padmasambhava – was acceptable in this scriptural source.

throughout Tibetan history and the development of Tibetan politics to the period of the Dalai Lamas and beyond."[40]

In the light of much of what we have discussed above in the preceding pages, we can see a considerable overlap between the idealised *bTsan po* and the Phur pa master. Both are connected with the symbolism of the *axis mundi*. Both are the divine in human form. Both combine worldly and spiritual powers. Both are bringers of spiritual and mundane order to the disordered world (cf. da Silva's comparison of *indakhīla* and *dassukhīla* we refer to above). Similar to his Imperial predecessor who brought to humanity the ways of the pre-Buddhist gods, the post-Imperial ruler who practised Phur pa cleared all obstacles to the bringing of Dharma, the ways of the Buddhist gods. If traditional Tibetan kingship was based on a contractual relationship between ruler and ruled,[41] the Phur pa tradition was exceptionally deeply concerned with *samaya*, the Tantric Buddhist understanding of proper contractual relations between master and follower. Like the ancient Emperors, the Phur pa practising aristocrat preserved the sacred order by defeating enemies both spiritual and worldly, using his unique powers over life and death, and his powers in establishing protected territory. For the clan leader or local king in the newly tantric Buddhist post-imperial world, Phur pa was an ideal tutelary deity. Many Tantric deities might enable him to achieve a sacred status, but few were so closely linked with so many and varied traditional ritual symbols of the ancient Emperor valuable to his kingship.

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[40] Brandon Dotson, forthcoming.
[41] For an analysis of the principles of Tibetan kingship, see Ramble 2006.

3 THE DUNHUANG *PHUR PA* CORPUS: A SURVEY[1]

A reasonable corpus of *phur pa* texts exist among the Dunhuang discoveries, several of which are fragmentary. Most of the subject matter is ritual in focus, although there is also a well-known historical account with doctrinal explanations in PT 44.

Obviously, we have no certain way of deducing how representative the surviving Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus is of the complete breadth of the *phur pa* tradition of pre-eleventh century Tibet. Nevertheless, it is extensive enough to yield some valuable data about the *phur pa* rites of that period.

To facilitate our survey of the Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus, we can, if a little arbitrarily, distinguish between three broad types of *phur pa* practice in Buddhist literature. Although these categories often overlap and therefore cannot hold up to exhaustive analysis, they do give us a useful way of approaching the materials.

- Firstly, there are straightforward practical magic usages of *phur pa*s with little or no direct reference to achieving enlightenment, often deriving from such early texts as the *Kriyā* tantras.
- Secondly, there are *phur pa* rituals resembling what are nowadays known by the rNying ma as *smad las* or subsidiary rites.[2] *sMad las* has three characteristics: it adopts ostensibly worldly magical rituals; it renders them considerably more sophisticated and elaborate; and in the process very comprehensively turns them towards Buddhist soteriological goals embodying the highest *Mahāyoga* view. For example, one popular *smad las* rite gathers up all the community's mundane obstacles like illness and poverty around a single weapon torma, which embodies the tantric deity expressing the destructive force of wisdom. This is then hurled at the yogins' own deeper causes of suffering, namely, ignorance, and the three poisons. Thus, the wider community's mundane obstacles are transformed into the means of eradicating the religious specialists' deeper spiritual ills, in a single if complex ritual process.[3] *sMad las* rites form an integral and extremely important part of modern *Mahāyoga* soteriology. The foremost example is the famous *Mahāyoga* rite of *sgrol ba*, or liberative killing, nowadays usually done with a *phur pa*.
- Thirdly, there are *phur pa* rituals resembling what are nowadays known by the rNying ma pa as the *stod las*, or primary rites, constituting more direct, less mediated approaches to the ultimate nature, typically through deity meditation. These practices are considered the basis for the subsidiary rituals, since it is only if one can identify with the tantric deity that the processes of tantric destruction and transformation of the most negative forces is possible.

While much of Asia (both Buddhist and non-Buddhist) still retains innumerable uses of *kīla*s within the first category of straightforward practical magic, it is above all in Tibet, and predominantly among the rNying ma pa, that Phur pa also became equally famous as a means to enlightenment, especially through its *smad las* practices such as elaborate versions of *sgrol ba*, or liberative killing, and its *stod las* practice of the rDo rje Phur pa (Vajrakīlaya) heruka meditational deity or *yi dam*. Since this Tibetan situation currently exists nowhere else, we are interested in ascertaining to what extent it was already represented in the archaeologically recovered Dunhuang materials. From transmitted literature of certain dating, we know that by the latter half of the twelfth century, the rNying ma pa Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1136–1204) and the Sa skya pas Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158) and Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216) had already

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1 An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in 2006, and is due to be published in Orna Almogi (ed.), *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

2 In this context, the paired terms *stod las* (primary rites) and *smad las* (subsidiary rites) have no necessary connotation of 'higher' and 'lower' in terms of supramundane and mundane: rather, they mean rites that logically must precede and those that logically must follow. In fact, the object of *smad las* is not mundane at all, but the liberation of sentient beings.

3 See, for instance, Cantwell 1989: Supplementary Materials, "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities".

composed seminal Phur pa texts containing the key features of sādhana practice still current to this day.[4] There are also early Bon Phur pa texts,[5] but we have not yet read these, so we cannot comment on their contents.

Firstly, let us review the Dunhuang *phur pa* materials that simply pertain to straightforward practical magic usages, most typically in rites of defining boundaries and defeating evil spirits. In general terms, these reflect exactly what we would expect of Indian usage of the *kīla* at that time.

There is a type of rite ubiquitous throughout South Asia, which remains routine within Tibetan Tantrism, that employs *kīla*s for securing the outer boundaries of a sacred space. This can be required, for example, as a preliminary to occasions in which a concrete symbolic *maṇḍala* must be constructed, such as a major ritual practice session (*sgrub chen*) or an elaborate empowerment. Here, *phur pa*s must be established at strategic points around the periphery of the *maṇḍala* ground before the actual symbolic *maṇḍala* is constructed. (Cantwell 1989: 235–6; Lessing and Wayman: 283).[6] Unsurprisingly, we have found some examples of this type of *phur pa* ritual in Dunhuang texts. The first section of IOL Tib J 384, which gives instructions for setting up a *maṇḍala*, includes mention of acacia wood *phur bu*s, which are to be established at the four corners. A mantra for this purpose is also given, containing the string, *ki la ki la ya*, which is very close to the *kīli kīlaya* element that is standard for Phur pa.

As mentioned above (see Chapter 2, p.19-20 note 14), another ubiquitous application for *kīla*s throughout South Asia is their use in overpowering or repelling evil spirits and the magical influences of enemies. Hence within traditional Indian magic texts one finds a specific category called *kīlana*, or 'piercing', which is closely related to *uccāṭana* or 'eradicating' (Goudriaan 1978: 374–5; also 351–364). Again, unsurprisingly, we find examples of this among the Tibetan Dunhuang texts.

There are two text fragments (PT 8, verso sides, and a single sheet of IOL Tib J 491) from a ritual or an aspiration conjuring the imagery of striking with a *phur bu*, for the purpose of severing the harmful mantras of a long list of human and non-human opponents (see Ch. 11 below, p.203–206). The two fragments constitute extracts from the same text, the *dhāraṇī* text for the female Buddha, *gDugs dkar* (White Parasol). They have the same repeated wording for the striking *phur bu* and the announcement of the severing of the mantras concerned. They differ in the specific objects listed although in both cases, we find both human ascetics or religious specialists of various kinds, Hindu deities and miscellaneous spirits.

Conceptually related to such rites, we find in the Dunhuang divination text IOL Tib J 739[7] that it is considered a good omen if one perceives the hearts of one's enemies to be struck with a *phur*. In this

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4 Note that much of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's work on the Phur pa cycle was attributed to his father, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po: see above, Chapter 2 note 3, p.15. Of course, the transmitted texts of the NGB also include lengthy Phur pa tantras which develop aspects of the ethos of the Phur pa tradition, especially the imagery and mythology surrounding Vajrakīlaya, the tantric samayas and the *sgrol ba* rite; but we cannot yet be sure of the exact dating of all of the parts of this voluminous material, even if we do have evidence that substantial quantities of such material already existed by the time the Dunhuang cave was sealed, as we shall see. Likewise the dating of the seminal early Phur pa commentary, the *Phur 'grel 'bum nag*, remains uncertain. It has been translated by Boord, who does not question the traditional attribution of the text to the teachings of Ye shes mtsho rgyal, suggesting that her student, A tsa ra Sa le, was the recipient who composed the text (Boord 2002: xxvii–xxix).

5 Important Bon po Phur pa ritual texts make up part of a *gter ma* cycle attributed to the eleventh century, Khu tsha zla 'od (b. 1024) (Canzio and Samuel, p.2). Buddhist authors count him as a *gter ston* who revealed both Buddhist and Bon treasures. For instance, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul equates Khu tsha zla 'od with Ku sa sman pa padma skyabs (Akester n.d:.5). Jean-Luc Achard has commented that some of Kong sprul's identifications are questionable, but this one is likely to be correct (personal communication 15/02/07).

6 In the case of major tantric ritual sessions, the wrathful deity whose circle is visualised will depend on the maṇḍala to be constructed (Cantwell 2005: 14–17)

7 *dgra snying ni phur gis 'debs* (14a10–11) and *dgra snying ni phur gyis btab* (16b.06–07). See Old Tibetan Documents Online, 2004, IOLTib_0739: 14a10–14b01, text critically edited by Ai Nishida and Iwao Ishikawa.

divinatory text, however, the portent arises as a natural indication rather than as the result of a deliberate ritual attack.

There are a number of *phur pa* rituals discussed in text fragments or mentioned as minor elements within longer texts which quite probably fit into this category, but which also contain possible hints of our second category in which such rituals are used as part of tantric deity practices focused on enlightenment. For instance, IOL Tib J 406 describes a subjugation rite, here involving a brief mention of striking and subduing obstacles or *bgegs* using a five inch long *rdo rje phur bu*, following a self-visualisation as Vajrapāṇi. This might possibly relate to a simple practice for ritually destroying harmful forces, yet there are aspects which might suggest more. It follows a tantric deity self-generation practice, and it uses some terminology shared with the more developed Phur pa tradition (see Ch. 11, p.198–199). Similarly, IOL Tib J 447's Section 3 has a description of the use of three *phur bu*s of different materials and sizes for destroying and subjugating harmful beings and forces, but the entire ritual is integrated into a set of instructions for meditating on Vajrasattva.

IOL Tib J 401's Section 4 is an exorcism to heal severe mental illness, by dealing with the spirits responsible. It involves the fixing of five *phur bu*s, apparently at the four limbs and the head of the patient. Accompanying this is a meditation on oneself as a wrathful deity. The following ritual includes a meditation on thousands of tiny wrathful deities arising from one's body hairs, reminiscent of a feature of the Phur pa tradition's visualisations of Vajrakīlaya in both Sa skya and rNying ma sources (see below, Ch. 11 p.203). In a subsequent section,[8] this text recommends the *ki la ya* mantra for coercing *nāga*s to produce rain where more peaceful methods have failed.

IOL Tib J 557 is a single sheet with various tantric instructions and the relationship between them is somewhat unclear. It contains *phur pa* material incorporated into or following a section on the heart vows of the Buddha families, and a meditation on and offering to the tantric deity Hūṃkāra. An eight inch acacia wooden *phur bu* with a rounded head is to be made; then, after offerings and praises, the *phur bu* is held and rolled, expelling obstacles through striking with it, accompanied by *phur pa* mantras similar to those in use today (see Chapter 11, p.194–197). However, it is unclear if this text refers to a ritual analogous to the famous *Mahāyoga smad las* rite of *sgrol ba*, or merely to a routine exorcism.

We have five texts more clearly in our second category, those applying *phur pa* more directly to the ultimate Buddhist goal of enlightenment.[9] Most striking is a close resemblance which parts of them have to the important present day *Mahāyoga* category of *smad las* ritual.

1. The main focus of IOL Tib J 331.III is elaborate *Mahāyoga* consecrations and *smad las* – type rites of *sgrol ba*, that have extensive parallel passages with extant NGB Phur pa scriptures.
2. IOL Tib J 754 Section 7 likewise focuses on a *smad las* type rite of *sgrol ba*, but is less extensive.

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8 Section 8 in Dalton and van Schaik's classification.

9 We have not included the *Mahābala-sūtra* in this book, although it is well represented at Dunhuang. It is tempting to tease out parallels and hints from tantric texts on similar wrathful deities, and Mahābala did come to have an important place as one of the ten wrathful ones in the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍalas. Yet it seems that Bischoff overstates the role of Vajrakīla in this text: it really does little more than state the importance of the mantric syllables *kīlikīla*, but these might well be those of Amṛtakuṇḍalin and/or Vajrapāṇi, or Mahābala himself, rather than an independent Kīla deity. See Boord 1993: 47. The text's closing sections use the phrase, "srid pa'i phur pa", which is a technical term in the Phur pa literature, occurring for instance, on four occasions in the *Myang 'das* (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 187, 190–1, 216). However, it does not appear to carry the same connotations at all. In the Phur pa tradition, it refers to the realisation or transformation of existence as the Phur pa deity. In the *Mahābala-sūtra*, it is used in the context of the closing sections which are extolling the reading and transmission of the text (IOL Tib J 390, 31r.4; Bischoff 1956: 37, 65) and rather than indicating a positive state, it seems to represent the downfalls of saṃsāra which need to be overcome through the Buddha's teaching. This would seem more reminiscent of the connotations of the term "'dzin pa'i phur pa" found in early rDzogs chen texts (Karmay 1988: 72, 75, 84-5, see above, Ch. 1 p.6 note 16) than of its use in the Phur pa tradition.

3. PT 349 is closely related to the *Guhyasamāja* tradition and in addition has parallels with extant NGB Phur pa scriptures as well as *bsTan 'gyur* texts; it describes a *rdo rje phur bu*,[10] identified as a heruka, destroying obstacles to enlightenment.
4. IOL Tib J 321 contains the only full-length uniquely NGB *Mahāyoga* tantra preserved at Dunhuang, the *Thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng*, which in this Dunhuang manuscript comes embedded within its lengthy accompanying commentary, and the text is associated with Padmasambhava according to its interlinear notes. The commentary presents *phur pa* as a way of achieving the four enlightened activities (*las bzhi*), and also cites famous NGB Phur pa titles.
5. PT 44 closely resembles later Phur pa *lo rgyus* texts, presenting history, lineage, doctrine and the fruits of successful practice.

IOL Tib J 331.III

IOL Tib J 331.III comprises the third text within a three-part manuscript. The first two texts describe the means of accomplishing the highest reality of Vajrasattva through *Mahāyoga sādhana*, and the first text is attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra. The third and final section explains the *phur pa* practice of *sgrol ba* in a way that would nowadays be understood as *smad las*.

It comprises 11 folios with interlinear notes. Although presented as an explanation rather than as Buddha speech, it is notable for its very substantial and close parallel passages with extant NGB Phur pa scriptures. Virtually the entire text is paralleled in slightly different order in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*. The next longest parallels are with the *Mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*, with which it shares 88 lines, and with the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, with which it shares almost as much, including its long sequence of mantras, and it also has shorter parallels with the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa*. There might well be many further parallels within the large number of other NGB Phur pa texts that we have not yet read. It is still unclear how the textual sharing arose: did this text and these canonical scriptures share a common source, or did this text copy from early versions of these canonical scriptures? In the case of the corresponding text within the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, it is impossible to form any judgement even in terms of probabilities, although with the other texts, variations in the ways the parallels are framed suggest it more likely a matter of shared sources rather than direct copying (see below, Ch.5 p.77).

The text describes a highly complex version of *phur pa* consecrations, along with the practice of *sgrol ba*, and unequivocally locates this within the mainstream soteriological concerns of *Mahāyoga*. The field of liberation is identified as Rudra, with the explanation that the Tathāgatas manifest their wrathful forms precisely to tame evildoers such as the one who cannot be tamed by peaceful means. The interlineal comments refer to classic *Mahāyoga* categories such as the Three Samādhis, and the true nature of the Phur pa heruka is identified with the totally pure primordial wisdom *dharmadhātu*. The practice described is complex and detailed, and contains many elements still current, such as lengthy consecration practices for the material *phur pa*, *mudrā*s, and the use of an effigy or *liṅga* to be stabbed in Phur pa subsidiary rituals (*smad las*). The rite is firmly focused on use of the material *phur pa* implement to achieve enlightenment through eradicating obstacles. The text is structured around a list of seven perfections, which we will discuss at length below (see Ch.5 p.74ff).

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[10] In Tibetan sources, *rdo rje phur bu*, like *rdo rje phur pa*, is taken as the Sanskrit equivalent for the Phur pa deity, Vajrakīlaya (for instance, in the title of the *Myang 'das* (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 124, all editions agree on Vajrakīlaya in the Sanskrit title and rDo rje phur bu in the Tibetan title). In the case of PT 349, we have an identification between the ritual implement and a heruka deity; it is not clear whether the title generally signified the deity's name in the early period when the Dunhuang manuscripts were written. The stabbing ritual in IOL Tib J 406 also uses the name, *rdo rje phur bu*, for the ritual implement, but not enough detail is given for us to know whether the implication was that the implement itself is to be visualised as the heruka deity.

IOL Tib J 754 Section 7

IOL Tib J 754 Section 7 deals with similar general topics to the above text, but very much more briefly. It begins by advising meditation on oneself as the deity (*mahāmudrā*), then that one should construct a ritual *kilaya*[11] as prescribed in the Kilaya tantras, namely, eight inches long, with a three-sided blade, knots, and a square base. It should be populated with the various tantric deities via invocation, and it is to be consecrated, using versions of the same mantras as found (with some small variants) in canonical sources and in the other Dunhuang texts: for the buddha body consecration, *ōm tshin dha tshin dha da ha da ha ha na ha na tib ta tsag kra hum phad* (oṃ chinda chinda daha daha hana hana dīptacakra hūṃ phaṭ); for the buddha speech consecration, *dhri ōm bhur bu ba* (?hrīḥ ?dhri oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ); for the buddha mind consecration, *ōm badzra ra tsa hung* (oṃ vajra rāja hūṃ). Then it proceeds with identifying one's two hands as means and wisdom and holding the *kilaya* between them; followed by summoning the obstacles into the effigy and binding them there; then, rolling the *kilaya* between one's two hands embodying means and wisdom, one should, it says, "through the force of great compassion, think that primordial wisdom light rays arise and radiate out varied miniature emanations".[12] With this one recites the mantra, and strikes the effigy. It continues, "By the wrathful one's emanations, the bodies of the obstacles are pulverised as though [reduced] to dust. [Their] mind[s] are established in the essence of complete liberation. Think that [they] are transferred into the state where there is nothing whatsoever of self-nature [or] substance."[13] Afterwards, one can also perform a protective meditation on the vajra enclosure, suppressing great obstacles, with the mantra, *shi ri he ru kha ma ha badzra sa rba du shṭha pra bran tsa ka ha na ha na h[u]ṃ phat* (śrī heruka mahāvajra sarva duṣṭān prabhañjaka hana hana hūṃ phaṭ). Although only given in the briefest of outlines, this text describes a procedure and ethos very close to that of IOL Tib J 331.III, again with the ritual activities section suggestive of a *smad las* rite.

PT 349

PT 349 is also a short text, but damaged and missing some parts. Like IOL Tib J 754's Section 7, it is very poorly written and presented, resembling someone's personal notes from a teaching session. It begins with prose, and ends with what it calls 'verses of the *Phur bu* proclamation'. These verses, but not the preceding prose, are prominent in the *Guhyasamāja* commentarial literature, occurring in such texts as the *bsTan 'gyur* translations of the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana*, and the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛttiratnāvalī* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti. Sanskrit versions survive as well. (see below, Ch. 8 Appendix, p.162–163) Interestingly, versions also occur in at least two NGB scriptures: the *gZi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud* and the *Phur pa gsang chen rdo rje 'phreng ba'i rgyud*. Likewise, they occur in an early Sa skya pa *sādhana*, the *Phur pa'i las byang*, by Grags pa rgyal mtshan.

The preceding prose part of PT 349 might be more intermediate between practical magic and soteriology than the two previous texts we have looked at: we cannot be sure, since some of the text is missing. The two previous texts resemble the modern *smad las* practices of *Mahāyoga*, where the ritual attack is focused on the root causes of suffering, namely, ignorance, the three poisons and their derivatives, and the ethos is in terms of soteriological liberation. Yet the prose part of this text that survives merely advocates the clearing away of obstacles to facilitate spritual practice in a much more straightforward way. For instance (line 11–14), it speaks of the attainment of heavenly rebirth as a result of wielding the *phur bu* so that one achieves a state in which more advanced spiritual progress is possible. Likewise (line 15–17), it discusses the *phur bu* in terms of pacification of obstacles, the fulfilment of the patron's wishes, heavenly birth, and the two accumulations. This seems to imply a less direct form of soteriology than the two previous texts.

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11 In this text, the word, *kilaya* is used both for the implement and for the Kīlaya tantras.

12 thugs rje chen po 'I dbang las/ /ye shes kyI 'od zer byung ste/ /s[p]rul pa'I 'phro['(/l)]u sna tshogs su bsam/

13 /khro bo 'i sprul pas lus bgeg kyi lus drul phran bzhin bshigs/ /sems rnam par thar pa'I mchog gI snying po la bgod/ /rang bzhin rngos po las ci[~~ng~~?] yang ma yin ba'I ngang du gyur par bsam/

In other respects, however, PT 349 is a brief description of the *Mahāyoga* rite of *sgrol ba* that is almost identical to the two texts above. It describes making, populating with deities, and consecrating the material *phur bu* in very similar way, and then striking while reciting the same mantra used in both of the above texts (see below, Ch. 8, p.159–161). It also describes the importance of generating bodhicitta and resting in the ultimate state when striking with the *phur bu*, and asserts that all the obstacles will be transferred to the Great Peace through being liberated. Nonetheless, it lacks the elaboration of culminating activities carried out within the protective cordon that is often a characteristic of the fully developed *smad las* rites. It is possible that this might simply have been lost from the end of the text, which is now destroyed abruptly after the mantra.

In short, PT 349's prose text might represent an earlier and slightly less sophisticated version of the rite of *sgrol ba*, before the complex *smad las* system had emerged. Alternatively, it might represent the same rite as interpreted by an individual with a less complete understanding; or it might only be that the text has lost its end part.

IOL Tib J 321

IOL Tib J 321 is the Dunhuang version of the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* with a lengthy commentary and its interlinear notes link the text to Padmasambhava. Note that a somewhat garbled and heavily truncated version of the commentary is also found in three editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*.[14] The root text is, we believe, a quite possibly Indian Buddhist tantric scripture, which, although excluded from the main part of the *bKa' 'gyur*, was included in the *rNying rgyud* sections of several *bKa' 'gyur* editions, as well as the NGB*'s* Eighteen Tantra section. It includes several very short chapters on *Phur bu* rituals, here devoted to the four enlightened activities (*las bzhi*). The commentary on these chapters has references to and citations from a *Karmamālā tantra*, a *Phur pa bcu gnyis* and its *uttaratantra*, a *Guhyatantra*, and a *rTse gcig 'dus pa*. The relation of these titles to their extant NGB namesakes however is not in all cases straightforward. The *phur pa* rites begin with the destructive activity, followed by subjugating, increasing, and pacifying, thus reversing the more usual order (see below, Ch.10, p.181). The descriptions of *phur pa*s follow classic tantric shape and colour symbolism for the *las bzhi*. The text of these sections is also infused with inner tantric interpretations: reference is made to the *samaya* of emptiness, the "primordial wisdom emptiness consecration", and pacifying through everything's natural qualities (see below, Ch.10, p.182–183).

PT 44

PT 44 is a famous text already studied by Bischoff and Hartman (1971), and its first historical section translated and discussed by Matthew Kapstein (2000: 158–9). It closely resembles later Phur pa *lo rgyus* texts, and in many ways works as a charter myth for Phur pa rituals as practised to this day. It narrates Padmasambhava and his disciples's fetching the Phur pa tantras, here called the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*, from Nālandā to the *Asura* Cave in Pharping, and Padma's taming of the four *bse* goddesses, into protectors of the Phur bu cycle, a role they still have in modern ritual. Notable is the apparent identification of the Phur bu deity as Vajrakumāra, and the miraculous displays of control over the elements that Phur bu practice bestows on Padma and his followers; similar stories still circulate in Phur pa histories and commentarial texts. Persons in an early Tibetan Phur bu lineage are named, where they practised, and the signs they achieved: Ba bor Be ro tsa, Kha rtse Nya na si ga, Dre Tathagatha, 'Bu na A na, mChims Shag kya, sNa nam Zhang rDo rje gnyan, Byin Ye shes brtsegs, gNyan rNyi ba btsan ba dpal, lDe sman rGyal mtshan.

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[14] For example, missing most of the text between the middle of Chapter 6 and the end of Chapter 10; and between Chapters 13 and Chapter 17. The versions found in the Golden, Peking and sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* editions are extremely similar to one another, sharing these same major omissions of text, and also many other shared errors. However, as we discuss below, they also fortunately preserve some text lost in the Dunhuang version.

The doctrinal material is fascinating, but too terse to analyse reliably. Regarding *yāna*s, it mentions *Mahāyoga* as well as *Atiyoga*, and even *Kriyāyoga*. It includes description of appropriate meditative visualisation of deities inhabiting the material *phur bu* and its practices seem to hint at *smad las* type practices of *sgrol ba* as described in the other Dunhuang *phur pa* texts, practised with the "*ki la ya*". However, the ritual description is preceded by discussion that might resemble what we would now call primary *stod las* practices, or direct approach to the ultimate nature via meditation on oneself as the Phur pa deity. These might have been intended as an approach practice to prepare for the rite.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, let us review what the Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus tells us.

- We can be certain from several examples that the various simple magical uses of *phur pa*s as found in numerous Buddhist texts, both Indian and Tibetan, were certainly present.
- We have direct evidence from several other sources that the more complex, typically *Mahāyoga* soteriological uses of *phur pa*s were also present.
- We know from the *Thabs zhags* commentary and from PT 44 that specific Phur pa tantric scriptures already existed, but we are not yet clear about their relation to extant NGB versions of the same name. For example, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is cited in the *Thabs zhags* commentary, yet it does not seem to be the famous *Phur pa bcu gnyis* included among the NGB's central Eighteen Tantra section; nor have we so far succeeded in identifying it as one of the other two *Phur pa bcu gnyis* texts in the NGB's Phur pa section.
- We know from IOL Tib J 331.III that substantial passages of Phur pa text are shared between Dunhuang manuscripts and canonical NGB Phur pa scriptures; and from PT 349 as well that such parallels extend also to *bsTan 'gyur Guhyasamāja* commentaries and to early rDo rje Phur pa *sādhana*s.
- We know that the material *phur pa* was both intellectually conceived and physically manufactured in fashions largely unchanged to this day.
- We know that complex *Mahāyoga phur pa* rites of *sgrol ba* were practised in ways seemingly little changed to this day; and that these rites seem to correspond to what modern rNying ma pas would classify under *smad las* rites.
- There is nothing of substance within the Dunhuang *phur pa* corpus that does not survive somewhere within the contemporary tradition.
- What is notably lacking in the Dunhuang record is any really substantial and absolutely unequivocal direct evidence for the *stod las* rites of approaching the absolute nature by meditating on oneself as the Phur pa deity in the form of one of the *bka' brgyad* herukas. Nowadays, this forms the main part of Phur pa practice, and it was already certainly in place in the early Sa skya rites by Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), as well as in the Phur pa texts from the early *gter ston*s, the twelfth century Nyang ral and thirteenth century Guru Chos dbang. Yet we do have indirect hints that such practices already existed at Dunhuang. Firstly, there is PT 44's description of the fruits of *Mahāyoga* deity yoga, which are essentially the same as those taught today, and where the Phur pa deity is given the proper name Vajrakumāra, exactly the same name he has in the transmitted canonical Phur pa literature.[15] Secondly, IOL Tib J 331.III (4r.5) refers to oneself (ie. the practitioner) as, "the great lord" (*bdag nyid chen po*), which the commentarial notes gloss as, "the Great Glorious One" (*dpal chen po*). In this text, the Phur pa deity also has the epithets dPal chen heruka, still used today, and Vajra Heruka, also still current. However, his consort is at one point described as Krodhīśvarī, which is not as far as we currently know widely evidenced in the later literature, where his consorts are

[15] For instance, Grags pa rgyal mtshan (apparently representing the composition of his father, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po [1092–1158]) 176: 1v; 178: 6r; 180: 10r; Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer: 247v; and in the root tantras, such as the *Myang 'das* (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 151, 216) and the *rDo rje khros pa* (Cantwell and Mayer, in 2007: 236, 243, 246, 252 etc.).

usually 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma and Ral gcig ma.[16] We do not in fact have any visualisation descriptions from Dunhuang of rDo rje Phur pa as a meditational deity per se, but in this connection, it is worth noting that the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 306 describes in very great detail a three-headed, six-armed, four legged dPal chen Heruka with Krodhīśvarī as consort which is undoubtedly a deity of the *bka' brgyad* type.[17] Moreover, we find a similar description of a wrathful heruka in Chapter 12 of the *Thabs zhags* Commentary (IOL Tib J 321), although in this case, he has nine heads and eighteen arms, surrounded by a retinue of three-headed, six-armed wrathful ones. Hence, we can conclude that the *bka' brgyad* type of heruka of which Phur pa is a prime example, certainly is already witnessed in the Dunhuang materials, even though we are lacking any clear descriptions of the Phur pa heruka deity. What we can say is that two features seem typical of deity meditations described or alluded to in the surviving Dunhuang record of *phur pa* practices:

(1) Descriptions of the "Phur pa deity" which *are* given seem to correspond with the forms which became known as the *sras mchog* (Supreme Son) emanations in the Phur pa literature, that is, a deified ritual *phur pa*, in which the upper part has a wrathful deity form and the lower part consists of a triangular *phur pa* blade.

(2) While the sources do suggest that the destructive rituals described are integrated into a structure in which self-generation of a tantric deity may be required as a basis, we do not have certain evidence from the Dunhuang sources alone that this already involved the Phur pa heruka as we know it now and as it was in the writings of a hundred years later. Although PT 44 mentions Vajrakumāra as the deity who is accomplished, and IOL Tib J 331.III hints at a self-visualisation as dPal chen Heruka (an epithet of the Phur pa deity in later sources), neither text gives enough description to ascertain exactly what kind of deity was intended. It might even be that other deities may still have taken this role, such as Vajrapāṇi, who is mentioned in the case of IOL Tib J 406.[18]

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[16] Ekajaṭā/Ral gcig ma, who does still remain as one of his two consorts, is mentioned in the *Thabs zhags* Commentary's Chapter 20 in the context of the female deity visualised with Heruka on the ritual *phur pa*.

[17] This is a particularly striking example of a Dunhuang text on a heruka deity sharing much of the imagery which became important to the Phur pa heruka *yi dam* deity. Here, the deity has similarity in appearance, qualities, role and ethos to the Phur pa deity. While we have not included a full study in this book, it is worth quoting some of this text here: "...although this Great Glorious One is practised, no room for evil is displayed.... This Great Glorious One, with three heads and six arms, until saṃsāra and the three worlds are emptied, with the manner of great bodily strength [for taming?], activates benefits... This fabricated wrathfulness, is not genuinely wrathful, merely fabricated outer conduct.... although worn like outer armour, [he] is said inwardly not to move from bodhicitta." (/dpal chen po 'di bsgrub pa la yang/ /sdig myi shong bar bstan pa ni/ ... /dpal chen po 'di/ /dbu gsum dang/ /phyag drug du ldan ba' 'dis/ /'khor ba' dang/ /'khams gsum ma stongs kyi bar du/ /sku [brdul?] shugs chen po'i tshul gis don mdzad pa ni/... /khro bar bcos pa ni/ /yang dag par khros pa ni ma yin gi/ /phyi'i spyod pa bcos pa tsam mo/ /lung las kyang/ /khro bo dbal po grdug pa ni/ phyi'i khrab ltar ~~bea~~ bgos na yang/ /nang gi byang cub sems la g.yos pa myed ces 'byung ngo/ Recto folio 1, page 1–2). "The glory of liberating killing with a focus on beings, is to kill/liberate, with the focus, Mahādeva. The glory of one's own purpose spontaneously accomplished, is [that] the body of the Great Glorious One himself, is unblemished by any substance or even by any sign of the defilements... The Great Glorious One, with compassion and magical powers, activates the benefit of beings, [so their] perfected incomparable enlightenment is accomplished. This is called the glory of perfecting the benefit of others." (/gro ba dmyigs gis bsgral ba'i dpal ni/ /ma ha de ba dmyigs kyis bsgral ba/ lags so// //bdag don lhun gis grub pa'i dpal ni/ /dpal ched po nyid k[y]i sku la nyon mongs pa'i gdos pa' dang mtshan ma cis kyang myi gos pa' lags so// ... /dpal chen po 'dis/ /thugs rje dang/ /rdzu 'phrul la bstsogs pas/ /sems can don mdzad do 'tshal yang mthar bla na ma mchis pa'i byang cub du grub pa'i phyir ni/ /gzhan don mthar phyin pa'i dpal zhes bgyi 'o// Recto folio 1, page 9 – Verso folio 1, page 2). The same type of heruka deities are also described in the *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 17 (NGB mTshams brag edition, Volume Wa: 208–9).

[18] As noted above (Ch. 1, note 29, p.8), in the context of a *sgrol ba* which seems not to be connected to a *phur pa* rite, the practitioner enters into a samādhi of the deity, Ṭakkirāja, at the moment of liberative killing (IOL Tib J 419: folio Rf.13v in the pagination system in Dalton and van Schaik 2005, and r26 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006). We can speculate that there may be some implication of a build-up of meditative practice in IOL Tib J 331, from the first Vajrasattva text (331.I) focused on self-generation, to the following Phur pa ritual (331.III). It is certainly not made explicit that the Vajrasattva meditation should form the basis for the Phur pa ritual, yet the two texts would seem to belong together (see below, Ch. 5, p.69–70). We need caution, however; we have no definite evidence that the two texts are anything other than separate texts which might have been included in a single collection. It is also possible that a similar structure is intended in the case of IOL Tib J 754's tantric texts, which

It is perfectly possible that elaborate meditations on the form of the Phur pa *yi dam* deity with which we are familiar from the tradition were already in circulation, but unfortunately not represented in the Dunhuang finds. But whether or not this was the case, at least it is clear that important threads from that tradition — notably, the imagery and associations of the ritual *phur pa* and its use in *sgrol ba* rites — were in place, and some passages of text which entered the scriptural corpus were integrated into notes and teachings on these topics.

begin with a meditation on Avalokiteśvara and his maṇḍala, continue with the notes on the *phur pa* ritual, and conclude with comments on other rituals, notably, the practice and significance of the tantric feast (*tshogs*). However, in the case of IOL Tib J 754, the *phur pa* ritual section appears to constitute hastily written notes, possibly from oral teachings rather than from a copied text, while the other sections are, however, much more neatly written. Although it is tempting to attribute a deliberate structuring to the component parts of the scroll, as with suggesting a relationship between IOL Tib J 331.I and III, this is only a matter of speculation and not hard evidence.

HISTORY AND DOCTRINE

4 PELLIOT TIBÉTAIN 44: A. REFLECTIONS ON THE TEXT

Pelliot Tibétain 44 (PT 44): An Introduction

PT 44 is the single old manuscript source describing the foundation of the Phur pa teachings which has come to light in the Dunhuang collection. Its presentation suggests that it represents a prototype for later Phur pa *lo rgyus* accounts, the historical and mythological literature found typically both at or near the beginning of collections of Phur pa liturgical texts and also often in the introductory sections of commentarial texts as well. But this is not all: it is also one of the few old manuscript sources which relate to the person, teachings and activities of Padmasambhava.[1] For this reason, it has not gone unnoticed in academic Tibetan Studies. Lalou (1939: 14) drew the attention of scholars to the text. Tucci (1949: 88, cited in Bischoff and Hartman 1971: 11), considered it constituted evidence for the historicity of Padmasambhava. Bischoff and Hartman (1971) made a pioneering study of it, including a full transcription and translation. Stein (1978) commented on it further. More recently, Kapstein (2000: 158–9) included a translation and discussion of the first half of the text relating to Padmasambhava's establishment of the tradition, while van Schaik (2004: 184–6) has mined it for the references to *Atiyoga* in the second section, which supplies a terse description of the Phur pa teachings. Perhaps the main contribution we can make to the study of this important document is by adjusting the lens of our attention. Kapstein's focus was on Tibetan memories of the great master, van Schaik's interest was in the early precursors of *rDzogs chen* teachings. Our study, by contrast, is centrally concerned with the subject matter of the text as it presents itself, that is, "*the origins and doctrines of Phur bu*".

The text is written in a rather "home-made" kind of notebook, made up of sheets which are not uniform in size, folded over together and (formerly) strung together through the spine made by the fold. The folded down pages at their largest measure only 10.5 cm across and 7.5 from top to bottom, and there are forty-three sides with four or five small lines of text each.[2]

Bischoff and Hartman (1971:12) pointed out the difficulties in dating the manuscript from the details given on its rather torn cover sheet, while Karmay (1988:34) suggests a time frame no later than the ninth century. However, more recent research by Takeuchi (2004) has made us revise this assessment. Some sheets of the paper used to make the booklet for our text of PT 44 contain writing and seals from an earlier use of the paper. This includes the front cover which gives a date in Tibetan and also contains part of a seal and a small section of a Chinese character. Takeuchi has studied many Dunhuang documents of international correspondence between rulers in the tenth century, which are often in more than one language. Tibetan continued to be used frequently as a *lingua franca* in such correspondence long after the end of the Tibetan empire, probably partly because it was easy to learn compared with Chinese writing. Carefully examining PT 44's cover page, Takeuchi has identified the bottom of the Chinese brush stroke as a character used in concluding letters between the Khotanese king and the local Chinese ruler in Shazhou. In another example of such a letter (PT 5538), there is a date written immediately beneath the Chinese character, in the same relative position as the date found in PT 44, but this time in Khotanese. Also, just as in the case of our cover page, a seal is then stamped on the page on the left-hand portion where the date is written. The date

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[1] Another Dunhuang text, PT 307, which mentions the role of Padmasambhava in enlisting a group of seven Tibetan goddesses to protect the tantric teachings, is translated, transliterated and discussed by Dalton (2004). The Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary (IOL Tib J 321) in its interlinear notes associates its teachings with Padmasambhava in three places (in one comment at the text's beginning and two in the final chapter). The *dBa'/sBa bzhed* manuscripts also give early data on Padma.

[2] See below for a full description, p.56-57.

given in PT 44 corresponds not to Tibetan dating of the time (which was based on the season, eg. the middle month of the summer season etc.) but to the Khotanese system, which gives first the year of the king's reign (eg in this instance, the second year), and then the animal year. Moreover, to the left of the date and seal given in PT 5538, there is a short Khotanese formula written in rather larger writing than the date. The equivalent Tibetan word used in such correspondence is *bka'*, a word we find on the first sheet of PT 44's inside pages. Thus, Takeuchi concludes that some of the paper used for PT 44 had earlier formed part of another such letter from the same period, but in this case written in Chinese and Tibetan instead of Chinese and Khotanese. Moreover, he calculates the most likely date of the original letter to have been 978, which was a tiger year in the first or second regnal year of King Viśä Dharma. It is also possible (but less likely) that it might have been the second year of an earlier king at the time of the previous tiger year of 966. In either event, this suggests that the Buddhist booklet dates from the late tenth century. The cave in which the manuscript was discovered was closed in the early eleventh century (circa 1010), so assuming that PT 44 was genuinely part of the cave library (and there is no reason to suspect otherwise),[3] it cannot have been any later.

The question of the Phur bu'i or Vidyottama la 'bum sde

PT 44 refers first to the Phur pa textual collection brought from Nālandā as the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*, *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde* or simply *'bum sde* (2, 6, 8, 9). Then, in the final part of the first section of the manuscript (31–2), it gives the textual authority for the tradition as the *Vidyottama la* in Sanskrit, equivalent to the *Rig pa mchog kyi rgyud* in Tibetan. Bischoff and Hartman (1971: 12–13), followed by van Schaik (2004: 184 note 51), have taken this to refer to the *bKa' 'gyur* text, the *Ārya Vidyottama mahātantra*, which is called, *'Phags pa rig pa mchog gi rgyud chen po* in Tibetan (sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* Volume 95, rgyud dza, 1v–237v.) However, Bischoff and Hartman note (25 note 29) that they have not identified any Phur pa sections within it, and their preliminary investigations would lead them to the suspicion that there may be none.[4] Now although it is not altogether explicit in our Pelliot Tibétain 44 and Bischoff and Hartman were unaware of it (they discuss on p.12 the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* and the *Vidyottama* on the assumption that they are quite separate texts), it is clear that the later Phur pa literature equates the *Vidyottama la Tantra* mentioned here with the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* referred to in PT 44's opening and other sections.[5] However, it is not yet very clear what exactly the terms *Vidyottama la* or *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* refer to in PT 44, and the terms have taken on slightly variant further interpretations over the centuries, some bordering on the mythological. For example, the title might include within its rubric reference to a mythic original text first uttered by the Buddha that is far longer than the condensed versions preserved on earth, a pattern found in other Buddhist tantras, but even this is not made very clear. What is clear is that the subsequent Phur pa tradition has preserved a very strong but somewhat imprecise memory of the *Phur pa 'bum sde* or *Kīlaya 'bum sde*, also called, the *Vidyottama la*[6] or *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*. The title is used either for a specific text or collection of Phur pa tantras associated with Guru Padma and/or with Prabhahasti,[7] or as a general term to describe the

[3] It seems that at some stage before Stein arrived at Dunhuang, some much later (post-sixteenth century Mongolian) documents were deposited with the manuscript finds, but we have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Tibetan manuscripts we discuss here.

[4] They write, "...I was not lucky enough to find in the haystack the little needle 'Called Thunderbolt Youth'. I even suspect him not to be there at all, and that our development has been written to link the modest Pel. tib. 44 to the prestigious *Vidyottama-mahātantra*." Yet PT 44 may have had no such intention to link Phur bu to this tantra; Bischoff and Hartman may simply have made an unwarranted connection themselves due to the similarity in the titles.

[5] It is worth mentioning that R.A. Stein (1978: 428–9) noticed Bischoff and Hartman's mistaken identification, and he correctly identified the tradition of the, "Vidyottama en cent mille sections".

[6] As PT 44 notes, the Tibetan is generally given as, *Rig pa mchog kyi rgyud*. The final letter *la* which is given with *Vidyottama* is, however, slightly puzzling. *Vidyottama la* might even have been intended as an abbreviation for *Vidyottama mālā*, but we have not seen any instances of this given either in Sanskrit or Tibetan.

[7] Prabhahasti is given in many accounts as Guru Padma's preceptor for the Phur pa lineage, for instance, the *'Bum nag* account in which the Guru, under his fifth secret name, Śākya bshes gnyen, together with the Nepalese Śīlamañju and Vimalamitra,

Phur pa tantras as a whole. Khenpo Namdrol's reference (1999:21) could imply either a specific text/set of texts, or the general class of texts, but it is clear that its subject matter is exclusively Phur pa.[8] Dudjom (1991:481) mentions the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde* in connection with Padmasambhava's subjugation of the four female earth spirits and twelve *mātaraḥ* and his establishment of the Vajrakīlaya Tantras, and the translators/editors of this English edition add in brackets a reference to the various Phur pa sections within the NGB, implying the title to apply to these texts as a whole. It is perhaps a little more likely that our Tibetan authors *do* have a specific Phur pa tantra or collection in mind,[9] although it is not clear exactly what it contained. We have been unable to identify any such text[10] – or collection of texts – nor to identify the frequently cited Phur pa text which is linked to it by A myes zhabs, the *Phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa*.[11] Both the *Phur pa 'Bum nag* and A myes zhabs claim that there was a chapter on the Vajra Family that was extracted from the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde* and became the basis for the later Phur pa texts. In discussing the tantric authority for Phur pa, the *'Bum nag* states, "the chapter on the Vajra Family was extracted from the *Tantra of Supreme Awareness*, the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*."[12] A myes zhabs reiterates this, adding the connection between this chapter and the *Phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa*, and he furthermore specifies that the famous *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* was taken from this Vajra Family chapter.[13] Furthermore, in his account of Slob dpon Padma 'byung gnas and his connections with the Phur pa tradition's origins, A myes zhabs discusses how Prabhahasti, the master who transmitted the Phur pa teaching to the great guru, responded to a request to provide the Vajrakīlaya teaching for subjugation, by dispatching one load of (texts on?) rituals for subduing the hostile forces and obstacles, taken from within the *Phur pa bi to ha* (sic = *ta*?) *ma la 'bum sde*,[14] and as a result, as soon as (they) went to the rock cave at Yang le shod, the three types of hindrances were pacified.[15] The account of the eighteenth to ninteenth century Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa is even closer to PT 44. Recounting that the Guru sends two Nepalese students, Kun zhi and Śrilamañju, to the scholars of India to request a teaching for subduing hindrances, "the accomplished scholars sent the two porters to the temple of Śri Nālendra [= Nālandā] for the Phur pa tantras,

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respectively called, Śākyaprabha and Śākyamitra, requested Phur pa from Prabhahasti. Each of the three then gained their own understanding which they combined into one authoritative cycle of Vajrakīlaya (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 228.3–5; Boord 117).

8 "The Vajrakīlaya tantra belongs to the enlightened mind sub-category of the enlightened activity category.... This tantra is called the *Vidyottama Tantra*, and has one hundred thousand sections, all on the subject of Vajrakīlaya." (Khenpo Namdrol 1999: 21)

9 Note also that the title, "*Byi to'i rgyud*" (*Vidyottamatantra*) was also included in the Pho brang Zhi ba'i 'od's list of Kīlaya tantras composed by Tibetans (Karmay 1998: 33).

10 The colophon of Nyang ral's *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyis 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* gives the additional title of, *bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i bsdus pa* (NGB, mTshams brag Volume Ya 808.3), suggesting that it might represent an abridged edition of the original text of that title, but it may simply reflect the text's understanding of itself as presenting the key teachings of the Phur pa tradition.

11 See the full discussion on this mysterious yet often quoted text, in Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 6. Note that it is not to be confused with the *rDo rje khros pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* which *is* in the NGB; a full critical edition of this text is given in Cantwell and Mayer 2007.

12 rdo rje phur pa 'di rgyud gang nas btus... rgyud rig pa mchog gi rgyud bidyotta ma la 'bum sde'i nang nas rdo rje rigs kyi le'u phyung ba yin no/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 269.5–6; Boord 141).

13 The point is made twice: phrin las kyi rigs phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i rgyud dam/ rig pa mchog gi rgyud kyi rdo rje rigs kyi le'u zur du phyung ba la/ phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bur grags pa la ni/ (A myes zhabs: 22.4–5); 'di la 'phags pa'i yul na kī la ya 'bum sde'i rgyud dam /bi to ta ma la'i rgyud ces yod pa'i rdo rje rigs kyi le'u har ston du byas pa da lta'i rtsa dum du grags pa 'di yin no/ / (A myes zhabs: 24.1–2).

14 rgya gar gyi mkhan po pra wa hasti la gtad 'dul ba'i rdo rje phur pa'i chos cig zhus cig gsungs nas/ slob dpon pra wa ha sti la zhus pas/ phur pa bi to ha ma la 'bum sde'i nang nas dgra bgegs 'dul ba'i las kha mi khur gcig brdzangs pas/ yang le shod kyi brag phug tu phebs pa tsam gyis bar chad rnam pa gsum po zhi/ (A myes zhabs: 56.7–57.2).

15 The account preserved in the twelfth century Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's *bKa' thang zangs gling ma* is very similar to A myes zhabs' here (see Yeshe Tsogyal 1993: 52–4). See also the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 26–7.

the Glorious Vajrakīlaya tantra, the *Bi to ta ma la 'bum sde*, and as soon as [they] arrived at Yang le shod, the hindrances were pacified.... in one month, [they] beheld the face of Vajrakīlaya." [16]

Unfortunately, it is clear that this textual collection, undoubtedly that which is referred to in PT 44 as the *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde* or *Vidyottama la*, is not to be equated with the *bKa' 'gyur*'s *Vidyottama Tantra*. Bischoff and Hartman's comments were in this respect justified: the *bKa' 'gyur* text seems not to have a great deal of *phur pa* material in it, nor a chapter on the topic of the Vajra Family, nor a version of the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*. Although we have not identified the text or textual collection referred to here (if indeed, such a text is more than a mythological construction), it is interesting that this Dunhuang text claims the Phur pa tradition to descend from it, preserving the same claim of its authoritative status as that given in the later commentarial tradition.

The Guru's Hat

The story presented in PT 44 makes much of the Guru's magic hat: it is the hat in which he confines the troublesome female spirits, and from which emerges the now submissive and beautiful goddess who promises to protect the Phur pa teachings. Both the later elaborate mythologies of the Guru's life, and the ritual and artistic traditions centred on the Guru give significance to his hat. The most common depictions are either of his "lotus hat", symbolising tantric mastery, or of a red *paṇḍita*'s hat, for peaceful images putting more emphasis on his enlightened scholarship and teaching.

The influential fourteenth century O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka'i thang*'s Chapter 41 (186.3–4) describes the King of Zahor offering the Guru a royal costume, specifically mentioning that, "upon his head, [he] donned the royal hat endowed with lotus petals; [with] five-coloured jewel[s], upon which a nine-spoked golden vajra was set, and on top, a beautiful vulture feather. Fastened also with a many coloured silk diadem, [this] hat which shined with golden gem sun and moons, [was] an extraordinary wish-fulfilling jewel".[17] Then in Chapter 99 (434.1–4), the significance of the Guru's appearance is glossed at length, beginning with the hat: "Since the Guru's compassion effects the benefit of beings, [he] wears on [his] head the five family petals, symbolising [that he has] perfected the power[s] of the five buddhas, with the five primordial wisdoms. The blue coloured area in the middle symbolises that [he] effects the benefit of beings with the four enlightened activities. The three skulls piled up, the fetters piled up, symbolise [his] demonstration that all dharmas are unadulterated, within [or] without. [The hat being] adorned with a latticework of jewels symbolises that [he] brings the entire three worlds under his control. The golden vajra set into the [hat] symbolises that [he has] mastered the vajra-like samādhi. The fluttering of the five-coloured silk diadem, symbolises that [he] tames beings using the five branches of knowledge. The decoration of the little vulture ornament on the right and left symbolises that [he] conjoins method and wisdom. The glistening clear peacock feather eye symbolises that [he] swirls in the light [of] appearances and mind [as] pure awareness [in] the spatial field. The shining golden gem sun and moons symbolise that [he] clears away the darkness of beings' ignorance."[18]

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[16] paṇ grub rnams kyi shri nā lendra'i gtsug lag khang nas/ dpal rdo rje phur pa'i rgyud bi to ta ma la 'bum sde dang bcas phur rgyud mi khur gnyis brdzangs te/ yang le shod du phebs pa tsam gyis bar chad zhi ste/ ... zla ba gcig nas rdo rje phur pa'i zhal gzigs/ (Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa, 2003, 27)

[17] dbu la rgyal po'i dbu zhwa pad 'dab can: nor bu kha dog mi gcig lnga brtsegs la: gser gyi rdo rje rtse dgu btsugs pa yi: rtse mor rgod kyi rtse rgyas mdzes pa dang: dar sna mang po'i cod pan btags pos brgyan: rin chen gser gyi nyi zla gsal ba'i zhwa: dbu zhwa khyad 'phags yid bzhin nor bu gyon:

[18] ghu ru'i thugs rjes 'gro don mdzad tsa na: 'dab ldan rigs lnga dbu la gsol ba ni: sku lnga'i dbang rdzogs ye shes lnga ldan brda: de la dbus mthing phyogs tshon brgyan pa ni: 'phrin las rnam bzhis 'gro don mdzad pa'i brda: thod skam sum brtsegs thag pa brtsegs pa ni: chos kun ma 'dres phyi nang ston pa'i brda: de la rin cen dra bas brgyan pa ni: khams gsum ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i brda: de la gser gyi rdo rje btsugs pa ni: rdo rje lta bu'i ting 'dzin brnyes pa'i brda: dar sna lnga yi cod pan 'phur ba ni: rig pa'i gnas lngas 'gro ba 'dul ba'i brda: g.yas g.yon rgod kyi the'u chung spras pa ni: thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel ba'i brda: rtse dbus rma bya'i

Tantric liturgies and religious paintings revisit the imagery in everday ritual contexts.[19] And it is not only such textual accounts of the Guru's life and formal monastic practice which may give significance to the hat. It finds its place also in oral symbolic traditions and popular practices associated with the Guru. For instance, there is the case of a Lotus hat known as "*padma mthong grol*", which was revealed as *gter ma* by mChog 'gyur gling pa and entrusted to the fifth *sprul sku* of Karma Chags med. This hat is reputed to have the power to purify evil karma and bring rebirth in Sukhāvatī.[20] There are also links between the Guru's hat and sacred sites associated with him.[21] In this Dunhuang account, although the Guru's hat is not elaborated on at length, we see a hint of the symbolic value it would later take on.

The Phur pa Protectresses

In PT 44, we meet a group of four troublesome *bse* goddesses, who appropriate people's breath at twilight, so Padmasambhava brings them under control. One appears as a beautiful woman and promises to protect the Phur bu teachings, and then the four are enjoined and given names by the practitioners following the rites they perform in the asura cave.

This account contains important elements of the later imagery relating to the Phur pa Protectresses (*Phur srung*). As with the Tibetan expansion of the Rudra myth (see above p.21), it can be seen as a typically Tibetan charter myth (*rabs* or *smrang*) that serves as a model for subsequent re-enactment of the rituals relating to the Phur pa protectresses. The principal protectresses consist of three groups of four goddesses, the Śvanamukhā, dog-headed goddesses who head the assembly, the Grande Dames (*bDag nyid chen mo*), or Re(ma)tī sisters (*Re tī mched*), and the Earth Mistresses (*Sa bdag ma*), also known as the four *bswe mo* or *bse mo*. They are generally accompanied by a group of Great Noble Ging (*sKyes bu ging chen*). In this case, in so far as the four goddesses would seem to correspond to one of our sets of four, it is to the third group, the Earth Mistresses. Their appearance and associations seem to vary somewhat from one Phur pa cycle to another,[22] but there are some continuities. Their individual names are given in some sources as Ya byin, De

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mdongs mdangs gsal ba ni: snang sems dbyings rig 'od du 'khyil ba'i brda: rin cen gser gyi nyi zla gsal ba ni: 'gro ba'i ma rig mun pa sel ba'i brda:.

19 The *bDud 'joms Bla sgrub* recitation includes the following terse mention: "[he wears] a lotus hat, endowed with a vulture feather diadem" ("pad zhwa rgod sgro cod pan can:", *The Collected Works of H H bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*, Volume Ca: 8). For miniature paintings of the Guru wearing the classic lotus hat (probably made in the late eighteenth century), and a discussion of the symbolism of his costume, see: "The legacy of Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu: the miniatures illuminating the collection" in Cantwell, Mayer and Fischer, 2002 (http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/Doc/TheLegacyofRigdzin.xml). There are some variations in the depiction of the hat; for instance, the predominant or main colour is generally red, but we find differences in the colours of the subsidiary sections and ornamentations of the hat. Some depictions are far more elaborate than others. Most of the features mentioned in the *Padma bka'i thang* discussion are represented, at least in the more elaborate paintings. The hat is not usually shown as having skulls, but quite often, we do find all the other features, the petal-shaped flaps, various jewel decorations, a sun and a moon motif shown centrally at the front of the hat, and a golden vajra at the top, on which there is a peacock feather, with vulture feathers on both sides, tied with fluttering silk ribbons (see, for example, Tanaka 1999: 104–107, Plates 43 and 44, and Yeshe Tsogyal 1978, Part II: 543, Plate 33).

20 See http://www.neydo.org/seed6.html on Karma Chags med, and see also, http://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=39,1474,0,0,1,0 for a report on the public investiture of the present Karma Chags med with a "sacred hat" (although in this case, reported to have been, "preserved in Tibet for centuries"). The article includes a story of an assembly of ḍākas and ḍākinīs each contributing a strand of hair to make the hat for the Guru, which he later hid so that it could be revealed as a *gter ma*.

21 In an account of the significance of Ha Valley in Bhutan, Lama Pema Tshewang mentions an impression in rock of the Guru's hat: http://www.bhutanstudies.org.bt/journal/vol5/v5-4.pdf.

22 Even in the case of the appearance of the chief of the twelve Phur pa protectresses, Śvanamukhā, the description given in the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri* protectors section (*Phur srung dam can bcu drug gi gtor ma'i cho ga phrin las dga' ston*, 222–3, in *The Collected Works of H H bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*, Volume Tha) would seem to fit closely with the central figure depicted in an illustration of the Phur pa protectors (Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa 2003: frontispiece), yet a description in the *Sa skya Phur chen* (43v) is quite different.

byin, Phag byin and bSwe byin.[23] Variants of these names occur in the *Sa skya Phur chen* (45v–46v): sPyi byin rdo rje mthu mo che, Ya byin rdo rje mthu mo che, bSe byin rdo rje mthu mo che, and Phag byin rdo rje mthu mo che. Clearly, the names are not exactly the same as those given in PT 44, but at least two can probably be equated (Phag byin = Phags byin; sPyi byin = Phyi byin), and they all have the same basic form, with "byin" as the second syllable. Although most accounts of how the protectresses were brought into the maṇḍala mention the other groups of protectors as well as the *bSwe mo*,[24] it is interesting that in the extensive section on *Praising and Enjoining* (*bstod bskul*, 35r ff) in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, it is the verses introducing the Earth Mistresses (43v ff) which specifically refer to these four goddesses as residing in Nepal, and being tamed by Padma 'byung gnas in the rock cave at Yang le shod. Another notable point about the later presentation of the *bSwe* goddesses, which may have some bearing on PT 44's mention of them as "non-transcendent" (11, *ma 'das*), is that the *'Bum nag* suggests that the *Śvanamukhā* group are transcendent, the *bDag nyid chen mo* are in-between a transcendent and worldly status, while the *bSe mo* are wholly worldly.[25]

The imagery by which the goddesses are brought under control in PT 44 is also reminiscent of the accounts in the literature. In the *'Bum nag*, we find a dusk attack on the breathing and the goddesses' expressed desire for the life-breath of the four continents,[26] followed by their submission and promise to protect the teachings, and the bestowal of new names. In fact, there also appears to be a close parallel to the theme of the Guru confining them in his hat in the *'Bum nag* description. The mention in the *'Bum nag* is very brief and not entirely clear but it seems to suggest that when in the evening the Guru notices that his breathing has been restricted, he rubs [against them?] with his hand, asking what it is that he feels. He then puts [them?] into a casket, which he seals with a mudrā. In the morning, he looks and there are four good [looking] women, who he then questions and binds with mudrās.[27] Although the translation here is slightly uncertain,[28] it seems that we have the same theme of the Guru capturing and magically imprisoning the goddesses, who reveal gentler forms and make their submission on their release.

An account in the *lo rgyus* section of the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri* (Volume Tha, 30–32) elaborates at greater length. It begins, "At the rock cave in Yang le shod, [he] established the eight-spoked maṇḍala of the Vajrakīlaya Approach Practice, and generated the heart samaya."[29] Then the story continues with the groups of the four Śvana sisters, the four Rematī sisters, and the four Noble Ging arriving in turn, at twilight, midnight and daybreak respectively. Each group is dealt with similarly; it is simply noted that they offer

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[23] These names are given in the *Phur pa rGyud lugs* protectors section (*Phur srung lcam dral gyi gnad yig dam can bla chags*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma*, Volume Ja, 651–2), and also in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* protectors section (Volume Tha, 223–4).

[24] The *'Bum nag* account recounts the four groups being brought under control in turn, the *bSe'i lha mo*, followed by the *bDag nyid chen mo*, the *Śvanamukhā*, and the *sKyes bu ging* (Boord: 119–120). Nyang ral also gives the four groups in turn, although with the difference that they are given in the more usual ordering of the groups, ie. the *Śvanamukhā* come first, and the *bSwe mo* come third (Yeshe Tsogyal 1993: 53). Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa (2003: 27) similarly gives the standard order, although in this context he only mentions the three principal groups of the protectresses. He gives greater detail in the context of his description of the maṇḍala deities (230–1).

[25] de yang swa na ma 'das pa'i ma mo/ bdag nyid ma 'das ma 'das mtshams kyi ma mo/ bse mo bzhi 'jig rten pa'i ma mo yin te/ (*'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition Volume Tha: 234.3–4; Boord: 120).

[26] See the *'Bum nag*, Boord 120; Volume Tha, 233.3 (nga gling bzhi'i srog dbugs 'dod zer/)

[27] srod thun la gu ru'i dbugs thums rngubs pa zhig byung/ phyag gis byugs pas ci cig 'dra ba zhig zin bsnyam byed de/ zam tog tu bcug ste mu dras rgyas btab pa las/ nangs par bltas pas bud med bzang mo bzhi 'dug ste su yin dris pas/ bse'i lha mo bya ba yin zer/ khyod ci 'dod byed pas/ nga gling bzhi'i srog dbugs 'dod zer/ der phyag rgyas bsdams pa dang/ srog snying phul/ gsang mtshan re re btags/ (the *'Bum nag*, Volume Tha, 233.1–3)

[28] Note that Boord (119) reads the words concerning the casket as suggesting an analogy for the Guru's sensation of his breath being restricted.

[29] yang le shod kyi brag phug tu rdo rje phur pa'i bsnyen pa'i dkyil 'khor rtsibs brgyad pa zhig bzhengs te thugs dam mdzad pa na/ (bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 30)

their inner life-force, are bound, named, and enjoined with the bestowal of root mantra syllables.[30] When we come to our final group of *bswe mo*, a good deal more detail is given:

"Then, [he] arrived nearby the region of the Enlightenment Spring, at the grove of winter flowers and skeletons, and at twilight, [he] made one little observation. [His] body felt heavy and dense, while into [his] presence, [there] came an unclear vision. Seizing hold [of it] in [his] hand, [he] put [it] into a small vessel[31] and sealed [it down] with Vajrakīlaya. In the morning, [he] looked and there were four fearsome looking women, extending across the expanse of the sky. Knowingly, the Master asked, 'who are you?' and [they] replied, 'we are the four *bswe mo* sisters,' and also, '[we are] the queens of the four seasons.' Again, [they said,] 'formerly, we brought the lives of people and livestock thoughout the worldly realms under control. Now, too, please empower us do the same again!' Each offered up [to him] the essence of [her] life-force, so without empowering [them] in this way, the Master taught [them] Vajrakīlaya. [They] listened and were bound to overpower and destroy the lives of the meditation practitioners' hindrances. [He] tied black silk diadems on each of [their] heads, bestowed upon each of them human skin *phur pa*s, dressed [them] all in strong coats of armour, mounted [them] all upon stallions to ride, and gave [them] four lakes as the places to sustain [them]. Giving each [of them] secret names, Shu len ta ri etc.,[32] [he] enjoined them, saying, 'the time has come for the Great Earth Mistresses', and [he] created the array of [their] essential root heart [syllables], saying, 'ajiti aparajite'."[33]

In this version, it is interesting that although Dudjom Rinpoche first mentions the other three groups of protectors, and gives each of the four groups an even treatment in relation to the lines for them offering themselves up, being bound and enjoined with mantra syllables, these repeated elements are very greatly fleshed out in dealing with the *bswe mo* group, the goddesses we find in PT 44.

The Archetypal Practitioners

While the first theme in PT 44's account is the Guru's foundation of the tradition through introducing the texts and ensuring its vitality by subjugating and enlisting the protectresses, an equally central message is communicated by the story of the complementary practices performed by the group of yogins, and the

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30 The sets of syllables given to each of the four groups together form the central core of a mantra referred to as, "the four [mantras] condensed into one essence" (*bzhi snying gcig tu dril ba*), which is recited in the context of engaging in ritual activities following the main mantra recitation (the *gNam lcags spu gri* Mantra List [*sngags byang*], Volume Tha, 283, and the bDud 'joms *sPu gri reg phung, Phrin las*, Volume Ba, 492). A version of this string of mantra syllables, within a rather different longer mantra, also occurs in the *rTsa ba rgyud kyi dum bu* (see Boord: 87–88).

31 assuming that *spar bu* = *par bu*

32 The set of "secret names" indicated here is also found in other sources, but not in PT 44. The canonical NGB scripture, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, lists them in Chapter 13 as Kumadari, Śudari, Camundari and Kaṅkadari, while in Chapter 19, its *mantroddhāra*, upon reconstitution they emerge as Kunmandari, Ḍṣuldari, Camundhari and Kaṅkadari (see Mayer 1996: 128–9). The *Sa skya Phur chen* (44r–45r) includes these names in verses before the invocations using the names which seem partially parallel to those in PT 44 as discussed above. A myes zhabs comments on the relations between the different names: Ku lan dhara is also called, rDo rje Ya byin ma (469.7–470.1); Shu lan dhara is also called, rGyca (sic. = spyi?) byin ma (470.6); Tsa mun ta is also called, rDo rje bSe byin ma (471.6–472.1); and Kaṃ ka dhara is rDo rje Phag byin ma (473.1–2).

33 de nas chu mig byang chub ris kyi 'gram me tog dgun yang mi skam pa'i tshal der byon nas srod la dgongs pa cung zhig mdzad/ sku nyams su lci thibs se ba dang spyan sngar yang rib rib pa zhig byung ba phyag gis bzung ste spar bur bcug cing rdo rje phur pas rgyas btab nas bzhag /nangs par gzigs pas/ bud med 'jigs su rung ba nam mkha'i mthongs su sleb pa bzhi 'dug ste/ slob dpon gyis mkhyen bzhin du khyed cag su yin gsungs pa na/ bdag cag ni bswe mo mched bzhi zhes kyang bya/ nam zla dus bzhi'i rgyal mo zhes kyang bya/ sngon yang 'jig rten khams kyi mi phyugs kyi srog la dbang bar byas/ da dung yang de ltar dbang bskur du gsol/ zhes zer te so so'i srog snying phul bas/ slob dpon gyis de ltar dbang ma bskur te rdo rje phur pa bshad pa dang/ nyan pa dang/ sgom sgrub byed pa la bar du gcod pa'i srog la dbang gyis shig par dam stsal nas/ dar nag gi cod pan re re mgo la btags /zhing gi phur pa re re lag tu bskur/ dbang gi bswe khrab re re lus la bkon/ bskyod pa'i rta pho re re 'og tu skyon/ rten gyi mtsho bzhi gnas su byin/ shu len ta ri la sogs pa'i gsang mtshan re re'ang so sor btags shing/ sa bdag chen mo'i dus la bab/ /ces pa'i bskul dang/ a dzi ti a pa ra dzi te zhes pa'i srog snying yang rtsa bar bkod par mdzad do/ (bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 30–32)

transmission of the lineage to later practitioners. At one level, it might refer to an underlying historical reality, but at another level, this is a mythic narrative intended to present an ideal model to be re-enacted by succeeding generations, and in this sense, the continuing traditions of Phur pa have entirely maintained the spirit of PT 44. In numerous later commentaries and in oral teachings, very similar stories are reiterated of the earliest students practising alongside the great Guru at Yang le shod and gaining accomplishments, demonstrated materially by their manipulations of the outer world with their *phur bu*s. In oral presentations, links are generally made with more recent masters of the tradition who have exhibited similar achievements,[34] to make clear the ongoing dynamism and effectiveness of the practice.[35] In ritual contexts, we frequently find a mythological history which presents a number of succeeding occasions for the demonstration of the attainments associated with the Phur pa practice. This may include an initial primordial or timeless "occasion" involving Vajrakumāra himself, followed by the first establishment of the maṇḍala by Guru Padma and his students at Yang le shod, and then a subsequent re-enactment in Central Tibet, in which key Tibetan students join the Guru. Finally, a further occasion may be added in which the principal more recent masters of the specific Phur pa transmission concerned take the leading roles.[36]

The particular practitioners said in PT 44 to have attained accomplishments along with the Guru at Yang le shod do not seem to correspond to those mentioned in the various later accounts that we have read so far, but interestingly, the miracles they demonstrate are very closely related. PT 44 has Padmasambhava setting light to and striking into a forest, and his companions striking into stone and striking into water. An oft-repeated commentarial tradition has the three practitioners demonstrating a superior, middling and lesser accomplishment:

"By performing the practice, [they] beheld the faces of all the deities in the spatial expanse maṇḍala, and [they] accomplished freedom from birth and death [as] vidyādharas [with power over] life. Becoming inseparable from the maṇḍala deities manifesting as Wrathful Ones, [they] attained the supreme siddhi of mahāmudrā. Superior, middling and lesser signs of perfecting the rituals of *union* and *liberation* arose. The

[34] Quite often, a lama will make no reference to his own attainments but will emphasise the abilities of his own immediate teachers, and may repeat stories concerning their miraculous accomplishments. The message is not only that the student should feel great respect and devotion for these past exemplars, but that through their connection with the line of masters, they too have the potential for equal realisation.

[35] In the mythologies of Guru Padma, it is important that the focus on the Guru figure himself should not cause us to underestimate the symbolic value in the lengthy accounts of the "team" efforts of the archetypal students and patrons in promoting and continuing the tantric tradition in Tibet. This aspect is not only stressed in the mythological stories themselves, but is built into tantric ritual liturgies and practice. It is symbolically crucial since the entire point of the *Mahāyoga* teachings is the possibility for today's practitioners to manifest the deity's full enlightened expression, and thus to realise all forms, sounds and thoughts as enlightened body, speech and mind. Dalton's comments on the Tibetan tradition "forgetting" the contribution of an indigenous Tibetan figure in one of the Dunhuang accounts of Guru Padma's subjugation of the Tibetan deities (Dalton 2004: 768), would seem in this respect rather misleading. Indeed, Rlang dpal gyi seng ge, the "obscure" character Dalton suggests has been forgotten, is on the contrary repeatedly remembered in exactly the role he plays in the Dunhuang text, PT 307, in the context of regular tantric *tshogs* ritual assembly feasts. Here, the group of practitioners seek to re-enact and re-embody the archetypal creation of the tantric maṇḍala in the Tibetan environment, in which the local spirits are integrated into the tantric assembly, and the *samaya* bond between the deities, the practitioners and the retinue of emanations is reaffirmed. Ideal Tibetan predecessors of today's practitioners thus have a vital symbolic place. Rlang dpal gyi seng ge and other early Tibetan figures may be explicitly referred to in the *chad gtor* and *brtan ma* offering sections of the *tshogs* rite. To give just two examples, the name is given in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139 and 143; the first reference mentions Rlangs chen dpal seng in a list of tantric masters who joined the Guru to subdue the Phur pa protectresses in Tibet, while the second reference eulogises the joint work of the Guru with Rlangs chen dpal seng in subduing and empowering the Tibetan Ancient Established Protectresses (*brtan ma*). Furthermore, in an *Anuyoga* sādhana practice of great importance to the rNying ma pa tradition, the *Tshogs chen 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs dngogs grub char 'bebs* of the sMin grol gling tradition of gTer bdag gling pa and Dharma Śrī, Rlangs chen dpal gyi seng ge, together with the Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas, is similarly identified in the *brtan ma bskyang ba* section as the one responsible for binding the protectresses under oath (*bDud 'joms bKa' m*a Volume Pha: 436.1). Dalton's valuable work on PT 307, then, demonstrates a long-term persistence in a mythological account, rather than an earlier forgotten version.

[36] See the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 138–141.

best [was that] Guru Padma took a *phur pa* which was flying through the sky, and striking [it] into a sandalwood forest, a divine castle of tīrthikas was instantly burnt up, after which the foliage sprung up again. The middling [was that] Vimala[mitra] took a *phur pa* which was quivering and hovering above the maṇḍala, and striking [it] into the River Ganges, [he] reversed its flow, [so that] the river was stopped, vanquishing a wealth-generating nāga [who was] sustaining tīrthakas. The lesser [was that] Śīlamañju took a *phur pa* which was smiling and exuberantly laughing, and striking [it] into the maṇḍala rock of poisonous stone, [he] shattered to dust a *the'u rang* [sprite] which was demonstrating the supernormal powers to tīrthikas."[37]

Moreover, just as PT 44 (19 ff) continues with the comparable achievements of later Tibetan disciples, we also find a re-play of similar feats in the later lineage stories in commentarial sources,[38] demonstrating the incorporation of the Tibetan landscape into the Phur pa maṇḍala. The cavern of the Red Rock at bSam yas, mentioned in PT 44 (18–19), has a place in the Phur pa commentarial traditions,[39] as does the cave of Mon kha ne'u ring in Bumthang (Bhutan),[40] a site which may be alluded to in PT 44's mention of the 'Bum tang Rock (22).

The specific lineage figures listed in PT 44 are not all recognisable from later Phur pa lineage lists. The group who are said to have done practice and demonstrated accomplishments alongside Padmasambhava do not seem clearly to correspond with any known figures. It is just possible that Pra be se is intended to indicate the Indian guru, Prabhahasti, who as we have seen (see above, p.42-43, note 7), came to be considered crucial to the transmission of the *'Bum sde* and the Phur pa lineage. Dan Martin in his *TibSkrit* (2006) puzzles if Shri Ri 'gugs ta might be a rendering of Śrīgupta (dPal sbas); but the application of the name Śrīgupta is probably too blurred and varied in the various records for us to make any confident historical usage of it (see the analysis in Hodge 2003: 541–2, note 15). Sometimes Śrīgupta seems to point to a teacher of Jñānagarbha's, who in turn is described as a teacher of Śāntarakṣita's (Hodge 2003: 24; Roerich 34), which makes him too early for this mention in PT 44. On other occasions, however, the name is applied to the late eighth century Paṇḍit Jñānagarbha (Ruegg 1989: 157), a collaborator on translations in the early 800's with Cog/lCog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan (Kuijp 2006: 171, 180) and with sKa ba dPal brtsegs (eg. in *lDan dkar ma* Lalou 1953, no. 562), so that a teacher of this Jñānagarbha might indeed be a contemporary of Padmasambhava. In fact, this Jñānagarbha is clearly linked in rNying ma sources with tantrism, since he is also named in some NGB colophons and is sometimes linked with the Vimalamitra tantric lineages and other tantric contexts (Kuijp 2006: 180). But we have not yet located any record that this Jñānagarbha had a teacher named Śrīgupta!

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[37] sgrub pa mdzad pas dbyings kyi dkyil 'khor du lha tshogs rnams zhal gzigs te skye 'chi med pa tshe'i rig 'dzin brnyes/ khro bo rol pa'i dkyil 'khor du lha dang dbyer med du gyur nas/ phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob/ sbyor sgrol gyi 'phrin las mthar phyin pa'i rtags rab 'bring tha gsum byung ste/ rab phur pa gcig nam mkhar lding ba de gu ru padmas blangs te/ tsandan gyi nags la btab pas mu stegs kyi gsas mkhar dang bcas pa thul gyis bsregs nas slar lo 'dab 'khrungs so/ /'bring phur pa gcig dkyil 'khor gyi steng nas 'gul zhing 'phar ba de bi ma las blangs te chu bo ganggā gyen du log pa la btab pas/ mu stegs la 'tsho ba ster ba'i klu nor rgyas bcom ste chu bo yan man du chad/ tha ma phur pa gcig 'dzum zhing rgod pa byung ba de shī la manydzus blangs te maṇṭa la'i mkhar gong gi brag la gdab pas/ mu stegs la mngon shes ston pa'i th'u rang phye mar bcom (Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa 2003: 29). An almost identical version of the story is given in A myes zhabs (58.1–5) and a similar account is also given in the *'Bum nag* (*bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition Volume Tha: 231–2; Boord: 119). The stories are remembered in ritual contexts as well as in presentations of the teachings; for instance, in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, in a section on "Enjoining the Vidyādharas" (*Rig 'dzin bskul ba*, 55v ff), the first verses recall in turn Slob dpon Padma 'byung gnas, Slob dpon Vimalamitra, and Nepalese Śīlamañju, referring to their specific demonstrations (56r).

[38] Thus, for instance, the *'Bum nag* supplies an account of Ye shes mtsho rgyal repeating a demonstration of striking, burning and regenerating a forest, this time, in mChims phu in Tibet; sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms strikes into the 'On 'jang rockface, and gNyags Jñānakumāra arrests the flow of the gTsang po River in upper gTsang (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 244–5; Boord: 126).

[39] See, for instance, A myes zhabs (87.5), who writes of, "the rock cave called, *brag dmar skye tshang*, located at the supreme sacred place of bSam yas mChim bu" (bsam yas mchim bu'i gnas mchog brag dmar skye tshang zhes bya ba'i brag phug).

[40] See the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139.

In the list of students in Tibet, Vairocana is given pride of place in PT 44. He is, of course, well-known to later tradition as a master translator and for his centrality to the *rDzogs chen* transmissions in Tibet, although he is not generally given a prominent role in the Phur pa lineages. In his most famous biography, the *Vairo 'dra 'bag*, which Karmay dates to the 13th century and some parts of it later, Vairocana is portrayed as a great translator and monk whose importance lies largely in terms of him being a transmitter of *rDzogs chen* teachings within both Buddhism and Bon (Karmay 1988a: 18ff). It may be that when PT 44 was written, there was an interest in linking the perhaps by then already illustrious figure with Padmasambhava's heritage. Hence, it may be that some early traditions did give Vairocana a key role in the early Phur pa transmissions, but that this was later overshadowed by his later reputed associations with *rDzogs chen*.[41] Certainly, in such early sources such as *dBa' bzhed*, no special emphasis is given to *rDzogs chen*; rather, he is portrayed as a great monk and translator, demonstrating signs of tremendous capacity for development stage Tantric practice, which perhaps tallies with his listing here in PT 44 as a Phur pa practitioner.

He is first mentioned at *dBa' bzhed* 17v, as "*Bee ro tsa na son of Pa 'or Na 'dod*" (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000),[42] within the list of the sons and nephews of the *zhang blon*[43] who were to be trained in Indian languages and who actually succeeded in this difficult task. By 26v ff, his prominence is clearly indicated in the account of his being most urgently summoned from Tsha ba tsha shod in Amdo to take a leading role in the debate about whether bTsan po Khri Srong lde btsan's funeral should be Buddhist or Bon. Here he clearly emerges as a Buddhist monk endowed with miraculous tantric powers: the opponents of Buddhism had tried to humiliate the Buddhist monks by denying them a proper seating row (*gral*) at the debate, but Vairocana redeemed Buddhist honour by demonstrating hundreds of tiny wrathful deities coming from his facial hairs, a *Mahāyoga* Tantric visualisation, similar versions of which are found in various Phur pa texts. This so disconcerted the leading opponent of Buddhism behind whom Vairocana was standing that he stood up, at which point Vairocana promptly was able to take his seat; after which the Buddhists managed to take the whole seating row. The text reads:

> "Amongst Vairocana's whiskers, miniature wrathful [deities] the size of white mustard seeds were appearing and amassing and, [they] so much terrified [his opponent, he] abruptly arose, leaving Vairocana behind, [who] sat down, so the right row was lost to the Buddhist monks". (26v.7 – 27r.1)[44]

In the course of the debate, Vairocana presented important arguments, and made brave and crucial affirmations about the sangha's capacity to protect the borders of Tibet, that clinched the debate for Buddhism (30b). Thus, the deceased monarch was buried according to the Tantric Buddhist rites of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, with Vairocana taking a leading ritual as mantra master (31a). From then on, claims the

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41 Along with Slob dpon chen po Padma 'byung gnas, Vairocana is attributed with the translation of Nyang ral's *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyis 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (NGB, mTshams brag Volume Ya 808.3–4)

42 Note that Vairocana's family or clan name appears in different forms in the early sources: *sBa bzhed* B (58) names him in exactly the same way as *dBa' bzhed* 17v, but *sBa bzhed* A (50) calls him the son of Pa dkor Na 'dod, and the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (359–360) calls him the son of Pa gor Hen 'dod. Wangdu and Diemberger surmise that the original clan name was Pa gor, which is also a toponym for a place in sNye mo which still maintains a shrine to Vairocana's birth (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000:70).

43 Literally, "maternal uncle - minister". Strictly speaking, the term "maternal uncle" in this context implied a high-ranking family which had provided the imperial house with one or more heir producing brides, such that they had members related to the King as maternal uncles. Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 7 note 6) suggest the term epitomises the hybrid nature of the Tibetan state structure, incorporating elements of the old clan system and of a bureaucratic state organisation. However, the term, *zhang blon*, was also used in a rather looser way, in which *zhang* simply served as an honorific prefix, so that the title could also be applied to members of other aristocratic ministerial families who did not necessarily have affinal relations with one of the kings (Dotson 2004: 79–82).

44 (26v.7) bai ro tsa na'i sma ra'i gseb na khro chung nyungs (= nyung/yungs) dkar tsam shig shig snang ba dang/ shin tu skrag nas kog (27r.1) gis langs pa'i shul du bai ro tsa nas bzhugs pas ban de la g.yas gral shor/ Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 96–7), not being specialists in *Mahāyoga*, were unsure how to translate this passage, and hence speculated it might refer to lice in Vairocana's beard! However, this kind of visualisation of tiny wrathful deities emanating from the pores of the skin or the body hairs is not uncommon in the Phur pa literature (see below Ch. 11 p.203 on IOL Tib J 401).

dBa' bzhed, Tibetan royalty had funerals according to such Buddhist tantric systems as *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, *Sarvavid Mahāvairocana*,[45] and *Uṣṇīṣa*. The significance, of course, is that the pre-Buddhist funerals, of such huge symbolic value to the pre-Buddhist religion, had been the occasion of much blood sacrifice, anathema to Buddhism. Vairocana is thus portrayed in *dBa' zhed* as a Buddhist monk with special tantric powers who had a great national impact on Buddhicising Tibetan culture.

In *sBa bzhed* A (64–65), Vairocana was sent by bTsan po Khri Srong lde btsan to India, to procure the teachings the bTsan po himself had not had time to receive directly from Guru Padma, with the idea that Vairocana would then transmit them to the emperor in turn (Karmay 1988a:34). However, in that account, Vairocana does not succeed in getting these teachings.

In PT 44, Kha rtse Nya na si ga is highlighted along with Vairocana as one of the first Tibetan students. Dan Martin (2006 *TibSkrit*) surmises that the name might be a rendering of Kha che Jñānasiṃha, i.e. Jñānasiṃha the Kashmiri; this is a reasonable guess, but we know nothing of such a person. Another possible rendering might be Jñānaśekhara.

The following students, Dre Tathagatha and 'Bu na A na, attributed with miraculous accomplishments at Brag dmar bSam yas, are similarly difficult to identify. *dBa' bzhed* (7v; Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 45) mentions A' nanta or Bram se A' nanta (Ānanda), who was learned in brahmanical scholarship, the son of a Kashmiri Brahmin called sKyes bzang resident in Lhasa as an exile. *dBa' bzhed* says he worked for the Tibetan authorities as a translator, especially when Śāntarakṣita first arrived. It is remotely possible this might be the same person as PT 44's 'Bu na A na. Carmen Meinert (2007: 264, 266, 286) suggests that 'Bu na A na might be identified with a dBu na A nang who is mentioned in PT 699 (folio 2r.7), a manuscript for which she proposes a dating of the second half of the ninth century. This dBu na A nang occurs in a list which features two figures who became renowned in the later transmitted accounts of Padmasambhava's transmissions to the Tibetans, gNubs Nam ka'i snying po and Lang 'gro dKon cog 'byung nas.

PT 44 gives the impression that mChims Shag kya might be a slightly later figure in the transmission. However, mChims Śākya occurs in early sources and he also features in the Phur pa lineage stories under the name of mChims Śākyaprabhā (see Boord 2002: 121), as one of the earliest group of students and translators. In the *dBa' bzhed*, he is mentioned as one of the group of trainee translators along with Vairocana (17v), and later (26v), he is given the title, *lo tsa ba* (Translator), described as a monk, and as one of the Buddhist representatives at the debate on whether Khri Srong lde btsan's funeral should follow Buddhist or Bon traditions (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 69 and 96). Wangdu and Diemberger report (p.69, note 237) that he is also mentioned in *sBa bzhed* A (50), *sBa bzhed* B (58) and *sBa bzhed* C (359). They also inform us that the *Bu ston chos 'byung* includes him as one of the translators of that period; while Dan Martin's 2006 *TibSkrit* tells us that in his *rNal 'byor rgyud kyi chos 'byung* (135.7), Bu ston[46] also described mChims Śākya as one of those sent by the emperor Khri Srong lde btsan to invite Buddhaguhya to Tibet. More relevant to PT 44, the *Nyang Chos 'Byung* (485) reiterates an account of mChims Śākya receiving of Phur pa teachings directly from Padmasambhava (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 96, note 379).

sNa nam Zhang rDo rje gnyan might conceivably indicate sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms, who is certainly an important figure in the traditional religious accounts.[47] We cannot find any exact reference to Zhang rDo rje gnyan, but there are many bearers of the sNa nam clan name in old documents. Among them, a remotely

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[45] A *Sarvavid Mahāvairocana* maṇḍala occurs within the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*.

[46] Martin gives the reference as: Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings* (= *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi chos 'byung*), contained in: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi 1968), vol. Da (11), pp. 1–184. Composed in 1341.

[47] See p.49 note 38 above; he is also praised in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139, and at several points of the recitation in the Sa skya Phur chen: 56r, 71v, 72r, 72v.

possible candidate to be the one mentioned here is the famous translator named sNa nam Zhang Ye shes sde, who was widely held in numerous sources to be a direct disciple of Padmasambhava. He was also known as Zhang Bande, and as Zhu chen Lo tsā ba. However, there was also a government minister by the name of Zhang sNa nam Nya bzang, whose name is a little closer to the rendering in P44 (see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 41).

We have even less clues to the identity of the other students found in PT 44. Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 30) mention that sNyi ba was an ancient clan from South Tibet, but we have no other data on gNyan rNyi ba bTsan ba dpal. In relation to lDe sman rGyal mtshan, Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 71, note 252) mention that there was one 'Dan rma rTse ma, or lDan ma rTse mang, who was famous for his calligraphy and glosses. Later sources say he received many teachings from Padmasambhava and link him as transcriber of *gter ma* texts. However, the name is not really very close.

Thus, as a general point on the identification of the practitioners listed, PT 44 seems to express an archetypical pattern in its accounts of the early Phur pa masters' accomplishments, but their specific names seem a good deal less familiar.

The Doctrines: (i) Vajrakīlaya and the Yānas

An interesting feature of PT 44 is its explicit mention of the tantric vehicles (*yāna*s) and its discussion of *Atiyoga*. In the first section, the Guru is said to have practised from "*Kriyā* up to *Atiyoga*", and activated the powers of all the vehicles through teaching the Phur bu transmissions. The second section on the doctrines consists of two parts, the first which elaborates on the appropriate approach to the practice, followed by a concluding section on the visualisation and ritual employment of a *phur bu* implement. In the first of the two parts, it is clear that the concern is with ensuring a view which focuses on performing the Phur pa ritual practices in the context of the highest realisation of the primordial wisdom mind, non-dual with objects arising as its natural expression, so that the "secret bodhicitta *Atiyoga*" accompanies the Phur pa sādhana associated with the *Mahāyoga* scriptural tradition. In discussing the practice method, there is, moreover, some hint at what might be considered an "*Anuyoga*" aspect in the mention of meditation on great bliss. The culminating point is that the different aspects of the teaching have their own distinct qualities but can also all be seen as *Atiyoga*.

This presentation is in fact very close to the transmitted commentarial tradition of Phur pa, which emphasises the integration of the three "inner tantras" in Phur pa practice. For instance, the *'Bum nag* cites the *rTsa rgyud rdo rje khros pa*[48] as saying,

"This supreme Vajrakīlaya
is simply an expression of numerous emanations of mind.
Generated out of *Mahāyoga* tantra,
(he) is meditated on as the natural qualities of the nature of mind's illusory display,
in accordance with the *Anuyoga* path,
and perfected as unborn and unceasing,
the unfabricated *Atiyoga* fruition."[49]

After an elaboration of the nine yānas, the *'Bum nag* concludes its discussion:

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48 This text is quoted freqently throughout Phur pa commentarial texts, with a number of its classic citations apparently copied from one commentary to another. However, we have not identified any extant text which would seem to correspond to it (see p.43 note 11 above, and the discussion in Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 6).

49 /mchog gyur rdo rje phur pa 'di/ /sna tshogs sems kyi rnam 'phrul tsam/ /ma hā yo ga'i rgyud las bskyed/ /sem nyid sgyu ma'i rang bzhin la/ /a nu yo ga'i lam ltar bsgom/ /skye med 'gags med spros bral ba'i/ /a ti yo ga'i 'bras bur rdzogs/ (*'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 268.2–3)

"Thus, the conduct of Vajrakīlaya
is in accordance with *Mahāyoga*;
the View (is) like *Atiyoga* realisation;
(while) for the Meditation, there is no going astray in meditating as in *Anuyoga*."[50]

(ii) Hints concerning the maṇḍala

Unfortunately, although PT 44 gives a clear account of the perspective within which one performs the Phur bu meditation, it tells us very little about the meditation itself. Given that we have not found any Dunhuang texts which describe self-visualisation as the heruka Vajrakīlaya deity, we cannot be entirely certain whether or not the practice here conforms with what became the standard and central meditation of the Phur pa tradition of practice. We merely have hints, in particular, (a) the mention of a primordial wisdom deity concerned with subjugation; (b) a Phur bu sādhana; (c) the specification that the Phur bu meditation involves a clear manifestion within the dharmadhātu; and (d) that all forms are transformed into the primordial wisdom maṇḍala from the time of empowerment. Furthermore, two elements of the ritual symbolism are highlighted, firstly the *kīlaya*, clearly referring to the ritual *phur bu*, since it is said to be rolled. The *phur bu* is the focus of the rite described in the final part of PT 44. It is possible that we also have here some hint of the deity visualisation, given that this reference is in the context on the contemplation of all forms as the maṇḍala. The two middle hands of the principal Vajrakīlaya deity of the tradition are depicted as rolling a *phur pa*. The second symbolic item specified is the *khaṭvāṅga*; again, one of the attributes of the Vajrakīlaya heruka deity, held in the lower left hand in the typical six-armed form. However, the *khaṭvāṅga* is a feature of wrathful heruka deities of all types, and the context here seems simply to suggest an indication of the general symbolism of the male deity as representing "means" while the *khaṭvāṅga* symbolises the female "wisdom" aspect. Moreover, as with the *phur pa*, the reference may only concern an appropriate meditation for the practitioner's ritual implements rather than the appearance of a visualised deity as such.

A final hint about the maṇḍala is that the lines on the practice method begin by announcing that the word for the ritual invocation is Vajrakumāra. We cannot know quite what PT 44 had in mind here, but Vajrakumāra, Youthful Vajra, is the main name of the principal Vajrakīlaya deity.[51] On the connotations of the name, Nyang ral's *Root Phur pa Tantra*[52] raises the question in Chapter 2 why one who exists from beginningless time should be known as "Youthful".[53] The answer is given:

"Youthful in emanating swiftly,
old age and decay has no power over me;
instantaneously [I am] arisen from [my]self!"[54]

In PT 44, it is not even entirely certain that the term, Vajrakumāra, is intended as the deity's name, although that would seem most likely, especially considering that the earlier account of the great practitioners speaks of them seeing the face of the Noble Vajrakumāra. Even assuming that Vajrakumāra is indeed the deity, no description is given. Nonetheless, at the very least, we find here evidence that the imagery of Phur pa as a "youthful vajra" manifestation was not unknown in the earliest days of the tradition's history.

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[50] /des na rdo rje phur pa 'di spyod pa ni ma hā yo ga dang mthun/ lta ba ni a ti yo ga ltar rtogs/ sgom pa ni a nu yo ga ltar bsgoms pas gol sa med pa'o/ (*'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 268.6–269.1)

[51] See above, Chapter 3, p.38.

[52] *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyis 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (NGB, mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya pages 757.5–808.4)

[53] /thog ma med pa'i dus nyid nas/ /gzhon nur grags pa ci zhig lags/ (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 762.7)

[54] /myur du sprul pa'i gzhon nu ste/ /nga las bgres rgud yong mi mnga'/ /skad cig nyid las byung ba'o/ (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 765.2)

The Phur bu Rite

A break is indicated by the words, rdzogs s-ho, ("the end", p.37), and the final section of PT 44 then adds some instruction for a ritual meditation involving a *phur bu* ritual dagger. It does not involve a ritual stabbing or killing and liberation (*sgrol ba*), although such a purpose is suggested by the final line, which refers to the destructive ritual (*abhicāra* = Tibetan *mngon spyod*), as well as by the mention of the rite of killing and liberating in the previous section. Here, the focus of the meditation is rather on the deities inhabiting the *phur bu*, and the seed syllable specified is the deep blue syllable, hung (=hūṃ), the main causal syllable of the Phur pa maṇḍala of the tradition. Although no description is given of the main deity, we have a brief listing given of the various deities at different parts of the *phur bu*. The visualisation of various maṇḍala deities in and around the *phur bu* is typical of *phur bu* rites. The specifics of the identities and positioning of these deities vary in different texts. There are, however, some consistent patterns: one is the association of the upper part of the *phur bu* with the buddha families; another is the presence of the ten Wrathful Ones (*khro bo bcu*), who generally form the main retinue, along with the Phur pa deities of the five families. It is interesting that we have both these features here. PT 44's description is brief, but not very different in tone to the tradition; for instance, in Chapter 8 of the *Phur bu Mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* (*Myang 'das*), we find the following elaboration:

"On the [*phur pa*'s] head is the knot [representing] the Immeasurable Palace,
with four lotus petals.
At each of the four sides abide four bodhisattvas;[55]
there being four for each of the four families.
At the waist in the middle abide the wrathful kings;
the eight wrathful males and the eight wrathful females,
are established [with] their retinues of the tiger- and yak[-headed] etc.
At the immeasurable knot below,
[is] Hūṃkāra and Mahābala,
the *yab*[s] and *yum*[s and] the male and female emanations.
Gaurī, [and] the eight wrathful females are established, and
the *bse* goddesses bound under oath.
Upon the edges of the wrathful place,
are established the eight lions and the iron hook [protectress].
Upon the three sides [are] the three door protectresses.
The head and the tip are the yab and the yum.
[This] place [is] for the residence of Vajrakumāra,
(its) meaning the symbol[s] of the Immeasurable Palace.
Even the display as the two knots,
symbolise the non-duality of means and wisdom,
of the [dharma]dhātu and great primordial wisdom.
The three-sided destructive blade,
is explained as destructive single-pointed primordial wisdom."[56]

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[55] The sDe dge edition gives, female bodhisattvas.

[56] Without here noting all the variants, the Tibetan reads: /dbu la rgya mdud gzhal yas khang/ /padma 'dab ma bzhi dang ldan/ /logs la sems dpa' bzhi bzhi gnas/ /rigs bzhi re la bzhi bzhi'o/ /dbus kyi lte ba khro rgyal gnas/ /khro bo brgyad dang khro mo brgyad/ /stag g.yag la sogs 'khor rnams dgod/ /rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la/ /hūṃ kā ra dang stobs po che/ /yab yum sprul pa lcam dral dang/ /go'u rī khro mo brgyad rnams dang/ /dam can bse yi lha mo dgod/ /drag po gnas kyi zur steng du/ /sing ha brgyad dang lcags kyu dgod/ /zur gsum logs la sgo ma gsum/ /dbu dang rtse la yab yum gnyis/ /rdo rje gzhon nu bzhugs pa'i gnas/ /don la gzhal yas khang gi rtags/ /rgya mdud gnyis su bstan pa yang/ /thabs dang shes rab gnyis med pa'i/ /dbyings dang ye shes che ba'i rtags/ /rtse mo drag po zur gsum ni/ /ye shes rtse gcig drag por bshad/ For our edition with all the variants, see Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 150–151. The following Chapter 9 gives further details and explanation.

Unlike some of our other Dunhuang sources, PT 44 tells us little about the actual features of the *phur bu* shape, although its reference to the "upper knot" (*rgya mdud gong ma*) suggests that at least it shares the standard feature of two "knots", each interlacing in a continuous circle around the *phur bu*. The upper one forms its neck and the lower one is at its middle or waist. These are discussed in many Phur pa sources: for instance, the *Myang 'das*' citation above from Chapter 8, and also its Chapters 9 and 17.

This *phur bu* is also introduced as a "*ki la ya ri rab*", an image found widely in the Phur pa tradition. As discussed above (see Chapter 2, p.16, 22), the imagery of the *phur bu* or *kīla* as an immovable Mount Meru seems to have widespread South Asian antecedents, for example, in the Vedic mythology of the Indrakīla as the cosmic mountain, in Śilpaśāstric literature on the stūpikīla, and in the Pāli Buddhist Indakhīla ritual traditions. It remains a constant in the Tibetan tradition. Liturgies make frequent reference to the mount meru *phur pa* ("*ri rab phur pa*/*bu*") held by the main deity. The imagery suggests that it is large and immovable like Mount Meru, with a further connotation of its cosmic significance; in some depictions, the upper half of the *phur pa* has a Mount Meru shape, although this need not be implied. As we shall see, other Dunhuang Phur pa sources also refer to the Mount Meru *phur pa*. Another old source, Nyang ral's *bDe gshegs 'phrin las 'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 769.3–4) also mentions a "*ri rab phur pa*", while the twentieth century *gter ma* liturgy collection of the *Phur pa spu gri reg phung* of bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje reiterates this widespread symbolism (eg. The Collected Works, Volume Ba: 523.5).

Finally, the ritual visualisation which begins this section has a direct parallel in other Phur pa sources, in the rituals for consecrating the *phur pa* and empowering through the five Buddha families (see Chapter 5 below, p.81-83). The meditation here reverses the usual positioning, in which the right hand is associated with means, having a sun maṇḍala arising from the syllable "ma", while the left hand is associated with wisdom, and a moon maṇḍala arising from "a". Generally, the five male deities arise above the fingers of the right hand while the five females arise above the fingers of the left hand. In bringing the two hands together in rolling the *phur pa*, the means and the wisdom are unified. One description of this "*dbang bskur*" is found in the *'Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 197; *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: 353–4); it is found at greater length than PT 44 in IOL Tib J 331 (see below, Chapter 5–6, p.74, 103-107).

PELLIOT TIBÉTAIN 44: B. THE TEXT

PT 44 consists of a small notebook with forty-three sides of text. It is made up of sheets of paper (the largest pages 15 cm in length x 10.5 cm in width) which have been folded over in half, and originally attached together along the fold, presumably with string, making very small paper pages (the largest pages 7.5 cm in length x 10.5 cm in width), each with four or five lines of Tibetan text. The booklet is opened with the fold of the paper at the top, so that the inside pages of text are read from top to bottom, with the writing on each lower page following below the writing on the upper page, with the crease of the booklet's spine positioned horizontally across the middle between the two pages. The outside cover sheet, however, has writing which goes across the front and back covers, and it is read by turning the booklet with its fold at the top 90 degrees in a clockwise direction, so that the fold of the spine is on the right. The words can be read by opening the booklet out, so that the full cover is visible. However, it is most likely that this cover writing has nothing to do with our text at all, but merely represents a remnant of an earlier letter which was salvaged for the booklet (see above, p.41-42).

Thick light brown paper is used throughout and the pages are of slightly varying size, with the shorter width pages carefully centred where they were attached along the fold. As noted above (p.41), some of the sheets have been re-used, so that there is still visible some writing and sections of one or more rectangular seals on some of the sheets. Part of a seal occurs on the front cover, and in numbering the pages from the first text page, on page 6, and also on one of the otherwise blank pages at the end of the booklet. The outer sheet of the front and back cover also has a large black curling line extending off the page, probably made by an ink brush stroke, and almost certainly part of a large Chinese character previously made on the original paper before it was cut up for our text.[1] The first sheet over which the outer cover has been placed has what appears to be the Tibetan word, *bka'*, in large rather poorly written *dbu can*. One half of this sheet forms the first page of writing of our text, while the bottom half of the sheet forms the back of the final sheet before the back cover. If this double sheet is opened out and turned round 90 degrees in an anti-clockwise direction, the page on the left (ie the front text page 1, with the first lines of our text now the wrong way up) has a *yig mgo*[2] and two *shad*s, while the page on the right continues with the word, *bka'*, followed by a further *shad*. The first page of the writing of our text writes across the *yig mgo* and *shad*s, although some effort has been made to avoid the curl of the *yig mgo*, positioning the letters "yu" and the final letter, "l", of "yul" on each side of the *yig mgo*. Thus, it is clear that the "$ // bka'/" was already on the paper when it was re-used to make our booklet.[3]

The black ink writing used throughout our text is mostly clear and well-preserved. Frequently, the syllables are broken at the end of the line and the final letter completes the syllable on the next line (or less often, the main letter occurs on the second line and merely the prefixed letter on the first), a convention which is not typical of Dunhuang manuscripts, and which may be connected to the tiny size of the sheets. The style of writing is otherwise fairly typical of the Dunhuang period, in between *dbu med* and *dbu can* with a tendency to look more like *dbu med*. There are no ruled lines but since the pages are so small, the lines are generally written fairly straight. There are few blemishes which affect the writing. There are some black spots on the syllable "yu" the fourth line on page 1, but the letters are very legible, and similarly, a stain mark with a tiny hole affecting pages 9–10 does not affect the reading of the lines. There are holes on the wrapping cover, and in particular, there is a large tear out of the back cover, which has removed part of

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1 If Takeuchi (2004: 341) is correct, it is the bottom right part of the character, *chi*.

2 The style of this *yig mgo* is similar to that which opens our text on page 1; that is, it resembles a single upside-down standard *yig mgo*.

3 Takeuchi (2004: 346 note 23) argues that it represents a standard term used in the letters of emperors (corresponding to the large Chinese character, *chi*). Presumably, it would have been given on the original paper to the left of the dating in Tibetan writing written on what is now the cover sheet of PT 44.

the Tibetan writing supplying the date, although this date seems to belong to the original use of the paper rather than the Buddhist text.

Note the following features:
1) kyis/gyis seems often to be used for the genitive;
2) other archaic spellings (or errors): cu for chu (eg byang cub; cu); (there is one instance of thams chad but three of thams cad, so this is probably an error/inconsistency rather than an archaism); ma with attached ya (eg. myi; myed); da for ta (eg. gdog for gtog/gtogs; rdags for rtags; sde for ste)[4]; omission of final a chung (eg. mtha, gza); bka' gtsal: presumably = bka' stsal/brtsal.

Cover sheet

As described above, this sheet wraps over the other sheets, formerly having had a binding string attached to the centre of the fold, which would have fastened all the sheets together. The writing goes right across the outside of the front and back cover pages, in a direction at right angles to the writing on the other sheets. The large tear out of the sheet means that some syllables/words are missing. As mentioned above, this cover has Tibetan writing giving a date, a large section of a seal, and of a Chinese character, all apparently from the earlier use of the paper. The Tibetan writing is in a similar style to that within the booklet, but some of the letters are formed slightly differently, suggesting that it was not the same hand.

lo gnyis stag [kyi(/yi)?][5] lo zla [...] [gnyis?] (tear out of edge)
d[ku(/shu)(/gu)][6] la gnang

[This] was bestowed (to the lord's side?) in the second [regnal?] year, the tiger year, in the [twelfth?] month.[7]

Front cover verso

(blank apart from library identification)

(1)
[8]//phur bu 'i khungs/
/dang gtan tshigs ni/ thog/
/ma bal yul yang la/
/shod nas rgya gar gyis yu
/l na len dra 'i gtsug/

The origins and doctrines of Phur bu

First, (there was) the journey from Nepal, Yang la shod, to the Indian temple of Na len dra (=Nālandā),

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[4] This feature may concern handwriting style rather than spelling. It may simply be that the scribe's letter *ta*, and especially attached *ta*, resembles *da*.

[5] this syllable is unclear, over the spine fold of the paper, and the *gi gu* also seems to be misplaced.

[6] It is not clear what the first syllable(s) of the line is/are meant to represent. Since the writing style is not exactly the same as that within the Buddhist text, it is not possible to compare the letters with other similarly shaped letters. Takeuchi's reading, *dku*, would seem appropriate. Another possibility is that we have *dgu*, nine, relating to the day, or alternatively, that this represents */shu*. It is possible that the final syllable of the previous line might be *nyi* (a line resembling the bottom of *nya* is visible beneath the tear), so that if *shu* is the correct reading, we might have the number, *nyi shu*. In this case, the number for the month would have had to have been fitted in before the *nya*/*nyi* on the previous line.

[7] The suggested translation assumes that Takeuchi's interpretation (2004: 342) is correct (but see note 6 above).

[8] before the two *shad*, there is an ornamental opening: the first figure presumably represents a single *yig mgo* (resembling an upside-down standard *yig mgo*), and it is followed by a downwards pointing triangle shape of three circles. As mentioned in the description of the manuscript above, this sheet is of salvaged paper, and there are a few thick ink lines on the paper left by the previous writing, across which our text writes or avoids.

(2)
/lag khang du/ /phur bu 'i
/'bum sde len du gshegs pa/
/las/[9] /bal po khur tsa ba/
/shag kya spur[10] dang/ /i so/
gnyis glas te bzhud[11] bzhud

to collect the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*. The two Nepalese porters, Shag kya spur and I so[12] were hired and [they] departed. On leaving,

(3)
/na/ /bse 'i lha mo bzhi zhig/
/nam sros tsam na/ /myi thams/
/chad kyis srog gcod cing lbug/
/s[13] phrog pa las/ /pad ma sam/
/ba bas khong thung zhing lbugs/

at about the time of twilight, a [group of] four *bse* goddesses killed all the people and appropriated their breath. Then Padmasambaba became short [of breath?],[14]

(4)
/phrog pa ltar mdzad nas//
/byugs[15] pas [c(/ts)]ir[16] ces zin/
/nas dbu zhu 'i nang du bcug/
/nas bzhud na/ /na len drar/
/byon te dbu zhu phye na shin/

[his?] breath similarly having been snatched away,[17] [so he] rubbed [against them?] and saying, "what is this?",[18] [he] captured and put [them] in [his] hat and departed. On arriving at Na len dra (Nālandā), [he] uncovered the hat and an exceedingly

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9 There is a very light scratch on the paper here, affecting some of the letters, but they are still readable.

10 Bischoff and Hartman give *yur*; Kapstein gives *spur*, which seems to be correct. The writing here of *sp* is consistent with the instances on pages 6 and 7 (*spyan* and *spyi* respectively) and different from main letter *ya*, eg. of *yang*, *yon*, and *yul* (on page 5, 6 and 7).

11 or *bzhur*, but *bzhud* (set off, departed) seems to fit better, and the final *da* here is consistent with *da* elsewhere in the manuscript, and not *ra*.

12 We have found no other reference to these two figures in our reading of Tibetan sources.

13 lbug/ /s: syllable ba a little uncertain; Bischoff and Hartman give lvug-/ /s. However, they note (21 note 5): "corr. *dbugs* for *lvugs-lbugs*". Imaeda (2007: 134 note 43) also takes an occurrence of *lbugs* in IOL Tib J 345 as equivalent to *dbugs*, breathe/breath. The intended meaning of *dbugs* would seem clear.

14 *khong thung*: literally, "short inside/within". This is not entirely clear, but short of breath would make sense. Alternatively, possibly *khong thung* is short for *khong khro thung*? Kapstein gives short-tempered and Bischoff and Hartman also have a consistent translation (infuriated). We are interpreting the not entirely obvious words in this section in line with the similar passages in the *'Bum nag* and the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (see above, Chapter 4, p.46-47).

15 Bischoff and Hartman suggest (21 note 7) that *byugs* is from *dbyug pa* (to throw, hit). However, *byugs* would be consistent with the *'Bum nag* passage (see above, note 13), where the Guru apparently rubs against them with his hand.

16 There is a small stroke which seems to correct *tsir* into *cir* but this could also be an accident due to the fabric of the paper.

17 It is possible that this means that Padmasambhava appropriates *their* breath (Kapstein takes it in this way); the use of the honorific, *mdzad*, strengthens this possibility (there is also what in standard Tibetan would be an instrumental, but the words, "all the people" (*myi thams/ / chad*) are similarly marked with an instrumental). However, it would seem more natural to take it that Padmasambhava has been affected, and this is in line with the *'Bum nag* account ("gu ru'i dbugs thums rngubs pa zhig byung": for the full passage, see above, p.46, note 27).

(5)
/du bud myed sdug gun ma/
/gcig kyis gzugs su snang/
/nas/ /phur bu bsgrub pa 'i/
/srungs mar yang dam bcas/
/srungs ma nyid du yang dbang

beautiful woman physically appeared. [She] also promised to protect the Phur bu practice, and [he] furthermore empowered [her] as this very protectress.

(6)
/bskur/ /snga rtags kyang/
/bzang nas/ /rtse dgod[19] la/[20]
/gser phye phul gang yang/
/yon du 'phul nas/ /phur bu/
/'i 'bum sde spyan drangs sde/[21]

Moreover, the omens being good, [he] playfully laughed and made an offering of a handful of gold dust, [thus] procuring the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*.

(7)
/bal yul yang [la?][22] shod/
/du byon ba las/ /spyi 'i/
/kri ya yan chad a ti/
/yo ga man chad du gdog/
/s par bsgrub pa mdzad/

Having returned to Yang [la] shod in Nepal, [he] performed [everything] included[23] in the practices from the general *Kriyā* up to *Atiyoga*.

(8)
/pa dang/ /gsang ba 'i rgyud/
/thams chad du phur bu 'i/
/rgyud 'bum sde nas/ /theg/
/pa mthu dag kyis don du/
/phur bu 'i lung so so tsam/

(9)
/tsam du bka'[24] gtsal[25] de/ /de lta/
/r bsgrub pa 'i lung gtan/

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[18] Bischoff and Hartman give, "where to throw it?", assuming that *byugs* is from *dbyug*; Kapstein gives *flee* (perhaps taking it as an equivalent for *dkyu*?), but this would not seem to fit well. Anoint or apply (*byugs*) would also not seem very appropriate here, but this is the verb used also in the *'Bum nag*, where it apparently suggests the Guru rubbing with his hand, presumably against them or alternatively, as Boord suggests (119), rubbing his chest.

[19] playfully laughed; Bischoff and Hartman's note on this is not very clear

[20] this syllable is smudged and not very clear but *la* is still readable.

[21] sde: presumably = ste

[22] There is a very slight scratch here; *la* would be expected but it is barely visible.

[23] gdog, presumably for gtog/gtogs.

[24] 'a subscribed

[25] bka' gtsal: presumably = bka' stsal/brtsal

/la phabs nas/ /'bum sde/
/yang slar bskyal nas//

In order [to activate] the inherent powers of these yānas, out of all the secret tantras, [he] simply annunciated the specific oral transmissions of Phur bu from the *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde*. Having thus established the practice transmissions, [he] once again escorted [back] the *'Bum sde*.

(10)
/de nas a tsa rgya[26] sam ba ba/
/s/ /bal po ser po dang/ in/
/tra shu gu tu dang/ /pra be se/
/las bsogs pas/ /a su ra/

Then the master[27] Sambhava, the Nepalese Ser po, In tra shu gu tu and Pra be se etc.[28]

(11)
/'i brag pug du bsgrub pa mdzad/
/pas/ /ma 'das pa 'i gzug/
/s can[29] bse 'i lha mo bzhi/
/bskul nas bsgrub pa mdzad/

performed practice in the Asura cave. [They] performed practice enjoining the four *bse* goddesses with non-transcendent[30] forms.

(12)
/de/ /phyi byin phrul mo ce dang//
/zas byin rdzu phrul can dang/
/phags byin mthu mo che dang/
/tshe byin sgyu phrul can dang/

(13)
/bzhi ru mtshan gsol lo/
/bsgrub pa chen po zhags[31] bdun/
/byas pas/ /'phags pa rdo rje/
/gzho nu 'i zhal mngon sum/
/du mthong ngo/ /phur bu 'i/

[They] gave [the goddesses] the four names: Outwardly Bestowing Great Sorceress; Miraculously Bestowing Food; Conjuress Bestowing Nobility; Miraculously Bestowing Life. For seven days [they] performed the Great Accomplishment, through which [they] saw the face of the Noble Vajrakumāra in person.

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[26] rgya: presumably an error for *rya*, although *a tsa rgya* might possibly mean, the Indian ācārya.
[27] or the Indian master (see transliteration)
[28] We have found no other references in our reading of Tibetan sources to these three practitioners accompanying the master, unless Pra be se is intended to indicate Prabhahasti.
[29] there is a fold on the paper at this place but *can* is clearly visible.
[30] ma 'das: or simply: still living
[31] zhags: presumably = zhag

(14)
/dngos bsgrub kyang thobs nas/
/rdags[32] kyang pad ma sam ba/
/bas nags mtha[33] myed la/
/mye btang bas/ /mye la thebs/
/shri ri 'gugs tas rgya gar/

(15)
/gyis yul mtha tshal kyis/
/brag la btab pas/ /brag/
/mong lo bzhi du btang sde/[34]
/rdo la thebs/ /bal po ser/
/pos cu la btab pas//

Having also obtained the accomplishment of Phur bu siddhi[s], signs [occurred]. Padmasambaba, starting a fire in an endless forest, struck into the fire. By striking the rock of the grove [in] the border area of India, Shri Ri 'gugs ta[35] splintered it into four ankle-bones[36] and struck into the stone. The Nepalese Ser po struck into water,

(16)
/cu gtan du gyur de/ bal/
/yul nyid 'khor kyi tshong/
/dus su btsugs[37] so/ /de lta/
/bu 'i cho phrul dang/ /rtags/
/byung ngo/ /bod yul du//

making the water permanently endure, so that market trade was established in the very circle of Nepal. In this way, miracles and signs occurred. In the country of Tibet,

(17)
/a tsa rya sam ba bas/
/ba bor be ro tsa dang [kha?]/[38]
/rtse[39] nya na si ga la bsha/
/d/ /slad kyis dre ta tha/

the master Sambaba explained [the teaching] to Ba bor Be ro tsa[40] and Kha rtse Nya na si ga. Later,

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32 rdags: presumably = rtags
33 mtha: presumably = mtha'
34 sde: presumably = ste
35 It is not clear whether Shri Ri 'gugs ta is meant to be identified with one of the practitioners listed above, perhaps In tra shu gu tu?
36 a little uncertain here
37 Bischoff and Hartman give *tsugs* and note (23 note 17) that the prefixed *ba* has been scored out. However, although there is a mark, this does not seem to be a deletion.
38 kha (and the *tsheg* before it, which is not clearly visible) is slightly uncertain; there is a mark created by the fabric of the paper here.
39 possibly, rce, so that we would have kha rce, = kha-che (Kashmiri), as suggested by Bischoff and Hartman (23 note 18).
40 Kapstein gives Pagor Vairocana, and Bischoff and Hartman mention in a note that this must denote Spa gor Vairocana: they are no doubt correct, although we do have a clear *bor* and not *gor* in Ba bor.

(18)
/ga tha dang/ /'bu na/
/a nas kyis nyan/
/nas brag dmar brag/
/bsam yas kyi brag/

(19)
/pug du bsgrubs de/ dre ta tha/
/ga thas mye la thebs/ /'bu/
/nas as po 'i brag la the/
/bs/ /de nas phur bu'i/

[it] was heard by Dre Tathagatha and 'Bu na A na, [who] practised [it] in the rock cave of Brag dmar bSam yas. Dre Tathagatha struck into a fire. 'Bu na struck into the Rock of As po (= Has po ri?). Then the Phur bu

(20)
/phogs[41] ni mchims shag/
/kya[42] dang/ /sna nam zhang rdo/
/rje gnyan la mchis/ /des/
/byin ye shes brtsegs la/

transmission came to mChims Shag kya and sNa nam Zhang rDo rje gNyan. He explained [it] to Byin Ye shes brtsegs.

(21)
/bshad/ /ye shes brtsegs dang/
/gnyan rnyi ba btsan ba dpal dang/
/lde sman rgyal mtshan dang gsu/
/m kyis lho brag gnyan gong du/
/bsgrubs pas grub sde[43]//

The trio, Ye shes brtsegs, gNyan rNyi ba bTsan ba dpal and lDe sman rGyal mtshan attained accomplishment by practising in lHo brag gNyan gong.

(22)
/mkhan po 'bum tang kyis/
/kyis brag la mye bdang[44] bas/
/thebs/ /rnyi ba dang lde sman kyis/
/shing dang rdo la btab pas thebs so/
/de ldar[45] thebs shing rtags phyin/

The learned teacher struck the 'Bum tang Rock, setting it on fire. rNyi ba and dDe sman struck and penetrated wood and stone. In this way, signs occurring in [their] striking [with the *phur bu*],

41 phogs: = phog, past of 'bogs pa (see Bischoff and Hartman: 23 note 21); to bestow or transmit, eg. empowerment, to impart advice etc.
42 an ink splodge follows before the tsheg, possibly deleting a final letter.
43 sde: presumably = ste
44 bdang = btang?
45 ldar = ltar?

(23)
/bas/ /gsang ba snang bas bsgrub/
/thabs su gsung de/ /slad ma/
/rnams la yang sngags dang lung/
/'brel mar gtad do/ /bsgrub pa/
/'di snom stangs kyis gnas/

[they] were accomplished with the secret visions. Teaching [the practice] as [skilful] method, [they] also entrusted the mantra and transmission conjoined to those who came later.
The pattern of the way in which the practice is grasped

(24)
/skabs kyis lung yul sems/
/sbyor zhing/ /bsgrub pa 'i lung/
/bstan pa dang/ /ye shes kyis/
/lha dbang du bya ba bsgom b/

(25)
/stan pa dang/ /gsang ba 'i byang/
/cub kyis sems a ti yo ga/
/r gtogs pa dang/ /phur bu/
/'i bsgrub thabs ma ha yo ga

is that the object [of] transmission is unified [with] the mind. This includes demonstrating the practice transmission, teaching the primordial wisdom deity[46] meditation for subjugating, and the secret bodhicitta *Atiyoga*, as well as the Phur bu sādhana,

(26)
/'i gzhung bzhin bstan pa/
/phur bu'i sgom ba chos kyis/
/dbyings su gsal nas/ /byang/
/cub kyis sems bskyed par/

taught in accordance with the *Mahāyoga* scriptural tradition.
[For this] Phur bu meditation, [one] meditates that having clearly manifested within the dharmadhātu, until the bodhicitta generation

(27)
/ma byas kyis bar du/ /yul/
/sems rnams gnyis su myed/
/par bsgoṃ mo/ /ye shes sem/
/s gsal tsam na/ /yul/

is effected, the mind and its object are non-dual. When the primordial wisdom mind clearly arises,

(28)
/thams cad ni shes rab kyis/
/rang bzhin du bsgoṃ/ /sems/

[46] since there seems to be a tendency to use the instrumental particle for the genitive, the meaning here is not entirely certain. It might rather imply the primordial wisdom meditation for subjugating deities!

/ni ye shes rnal mar bsgoṃ//
/de ltar sems kyis lus su/

[one] meditates on all objects as wisdom's natural expression. Mind is meditated on as primordial wisdom's natural state. The mind empowerment having thus been bestowed within the body,

(29)
/dbang bskur nas/ /dbang thob/
/tsa na/ /lus thams cad ye/
/shes gyis dkyil 'khor du/
/'gyur to/ /sems ni bde ba/

as soon as empowerment is attained, all bodies are transformed into the primordial wisdom maṇḍala and [one] contemplates that the mind

(30)
/chen po las ma g.yos/
/par bsam/ /kri[47] la ya/
/dril tsam na/ /yul sems/
/gnyis su myed par bsam/

does not move from great bliss. When kīlaya[48] is rolled, [one] contemplates that the mind and its object are non-dual.

(31)
/kha tam gyi phyag rgya tsam
/na/ /yul sems tha/
/bs dang shes rab du sgo/
/m/ /rgya gar ~~du byi to da~~/

When [taking up] the symbolic implement[49] of the khaṭvāṅga, [one] contemplates that the mind and its object are method and wisdom.
In the Indian

(32)
/~~ma la 'o/ /bod~~[50] kyis/
/skad du byi to da ma la/
/'o/ /bod skad du rig pa/
/mchog kyis rgyud to/

language, [the textual collection is called] the *Byi to da ma la*,[51] [while] in the Tibetan language, [it is called] the *Tantra of Supreme Awareness*.[52]

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[47] kri: kī intended? We only have two instances of a subscribed *a chung* (9 and 38), and both resemble each other and look nothing like the attached *ra* here. Many instances of attached *ra* would seem unproblematically similar to the attached *ra* here. Nonetheless, *kī* would appear to fit the context, while *kri* would not.

[48] assuming that kī la ya and not kri la ya is intended (see note above)

[49] literally, "the mudrā". Perhaps the idea of making a symbolic gesture representing the khaṭvāṅga is implied, but it seems quite likely that this may indicate an actual ritual item.

[50] deleted with strokes through the letters; an obvious error which the scribe noticed.

[51] ie. *Vidyottama la*

(33)
/bsgrub thabs su byang cub/
/kyis sems gsang bar/
/bsgoṃ mo/ /las kyis skul/
/tshig du rdo rje gzho nu/

As the practice method,[53] [one] meditates on the secret bodhicitta. The ritual word of invocation is, "Vajrakumāra".[54]

(34)
/zhes bya 'o/ /khungs lung/
/a ti yo gar bstan pa/
/dang/ /bsgral nas gnas/
/kyis cho ga 'i gza gtad/

He[55] is taught as the basis [in] *Atiyoga*, and the one who[56] is the meditation focus for the "liberating killing" and transference rites.[57]

(35)
/gang yin bar bstan pa/
/dang/ /byang cub kyis sem/
/s bde ba chen po las/
/myi dams par bsgoṃ mo/

[One] meditates on the bodhicitta as not demonstrated[58] [apart] from the great bliss.

(36)
/de ltar man ngag kyis/
/don du lung chen po b/
/zhir bstan no/ /khyad/
/bar gyis so sor phye/

(37)
/nas kyang/ /yang dag/
/pa 'i lung thams cad kyang/
/a ti yo gar bstan to/ /
/rdzogs s-ho[59]// //[60] //

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52 *rig pa mchog kyi rgyud* (our text gives kyis for kyi)
53 or: "In the sādhana,"
54 rdo rje gzhon nu (our text gives rdo rje gzho nu)
55 or: "It"
56 or: "that which"
57 transference rite: *gnas kyis cho ga*. The actual meaning is slightly uncertain here, but it may well refer to "*gnas chog*" rituals for elevating the consciousness of those who have died to a Buddha field (see Nitartha dictionary entry: ry and IW). This fits the context perfectly, since "liberating killing" rituals are invariably accompanied by such ritual meditations (see above, Chapter 1, p. 6-9).
58 the significance of "myi dams par" is uncertain here. Presumably, *dams* is from *'dom pa*, but *'dom* has a number of meanings (to admonish, demonstrate, assemble, measure, select) and it is not at all clear what this means here. An alternative possibility is that *myi dams par* is for *mi dam par*, "not sacred/genuine/consecrated...". We are guessing from the context that the emphasis in this line is on unifying bodhicitta and bliss, perhaps with the connotation that the bodhicitta revealed in *Atiyoga* (see above, f.25) is unified with the great bliss arising in the Phur bu meditation (f.25–30).

Thus, it is taught as the four great transmissions for the purpose of the pith instructions.[61] Although specifically distinguished individually, all of the authentic transmissions are also taught as *Atiyoga*.
The End.

(38)
//phyag g.yas na ki la ya/
/ri rab kyi zur pan snams pa'/[62]
/phyag g.yon pa na tsa kra sna/
/ms pa/ /g.yas kyi thal/
/mo 'i dkyil na a las zla/

Holding the mount meru kīlaya [with] planed edges[63] in the right hand, [one] holds a cakra in the left hand. In the centre of the right palm, from "a" [arises] a moon

(39)
/ba 'i dkyil 'khor/ /g.yon/
/gyi thal mo 'i dkyil na ma/
/la nas[64] nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor/
/phur bu 'i rang bzhin ni rgya/
/mdud/ /gong ma 'i steng du/

(40)
/rigs lnga 'i he ru ka sgoṃ mo/
/rtsibs la ke 'u ri tse 'u/
/ri brgyad sgom/ /rgya mdud/
/kyi mgo bo la khro bo rol/

maṇḍala, [while] in the centre of the left palm, from "ma" [arises] a sun maṇḍala. The natural expression of the *phur bu* is meditated on [as] the heruka[s] of the five families [appearing] above the upper knot. At the spokes, [one] meditates on the eight [females,] Ke 'u ri, Tse 'u ri [etc.]. On the head of the knot, the wrathful ones are displayed;

(41)
/pa bcu gsal bar sgom/
/rtse mo la yag ~~dang~~[65] sha/
/dang rag sha bsgom//
/de 'i yang rtse mo la yi/
/ge hung mthing ka cig/

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59 sa with attached ha

60 two ornamental *shad*, presumably a variation on *sbrul shad* (Unicode 0F08), but with a rather different appearance, each topped by a circle, below which the first half of the line zig zags, while the bottom section curves round and back.

61 It is possible to tease four categories out of the preceding passage, although this may be stretching the presentation given in the text and it may be that the four great transmissions are not specified. If intended to be drawn from the above, they might be: 1) meditating on the secret bodhicitta; 2) on the basis [in] *Atiyoga*; 3) the meditation focus for the "liberating killing" and transference rites; 4) the bodhicitta as not demonstrated [apart] from the great bliss.

62 'a subscribed

63 zur pan: the translation here is uncertain. We are reading it as "*zur 'ben*" (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 2467), although it is very questionable whether this is intended. Bischoff and Hartman's translation (in full, "Hold in the right hand the ki-la-ya in the direction of the Sumeru") is unsatisfactory in meaning.

64 Bischoff and Hartman give *las* for *la nas*, but *la nas* is clear, even though *las* would make better sense here.

65 there is a deletion of *dang*; *dang* is likely to have been an error in which the following *sha* was initially omitted.

meditate on the ten clearly manifesting. At the point [of the *phur bu*], meditate on yakṣa[s] and rākṣasa[s]. Also here, meditate on a single clearly manifesting deep blue syllable huṃ at the tip.

(42)
/gsal bar sgom/ /de 'i/
/dkyil du 'od dkar la/
/che ba gcig gsal ba/
/r sgom mo/ /sang rgyas/
/gyi bkra 'o/ /sngags/

(43)
/che ba 'i yon tan no//
/a byi tsa ra'i mthu 'o//

In its centre, meditate on a single great one[66] clearly manifesting within white light.

[This] is the splendour of the Buddha!
[This expresses] the enlightened qualities of the greatest mantra!
[This expresses] the inherent powers of the abhicāra![67]

[66] che ba gcig: it is not certain whether or not this refers to a deity arising from the *hūṃ*.
[67] Although the wording is different, the final lines proclaiming the qualities of the practice are a little reminiscent of some of the final lines of the *Phur pa rTsa ba'i dum bu*: "[This] is the truth of the Dharmatā! [This] is consecrated by the secret mantra consecration! Consecrated by the Buddha, [this] brings [his] inherent powers!" (chos nyid kyi bden pa'o/ /gsang sngags kyi byin gyi rlabs kyis byin gyis brlabs so/ /sangs rgyas kyi byin gyis brlabs kyis mthur 'gyur ro/ See Boord: 89–90.)

SOTERIOLOGICAL RITUAL TEXTS

5 IOL TIB J 331.III: A DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT AND ITS PARALLELS IN THE PHUR PA LITERATURE[1]

Introduction: the manuscript's three texts

IOL Tib J 331 is a complete and well-preserved manuscript of three texts, in loose-leaf *pothī* form with two string-holes per folio. The three texts are separate, probably discrete parts within one collection, although there is a possibility that the first and third text might have had some connection or at least have been part of one volume. The Phur pa text considered here is the third and final text of the trio, while the first two are essentially discussions of tantric sādhana practice, with specific relation to Vajrasattva. Apart from some nine *tshig rkang* found in the opening sections of IOL Tib J 331.III,[2] the entire text is parallelled in a slightly different order within an NGB text, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*.[3] The nature and significance of this parallel, as well as the sharing of substantial passages with other NGB texts, is discussed below.

The format of a main text in larger handwriting, with annotations given above or below the line in smaller writing (often with slightly less attention to careful formation of each letter), is found in both the first and third text, but the second has only the larger writing without commentary.

The folios (each approximately 300 mm in width x 91mm in height) consist of thick sturdy sheets, with little sign of damage or deterioration. They have in places lost the original straight line of their edges, but they are mostly well-preserved with little fraying and few indentations. The ink writing is clear; there are few smudges, and only one blot in the manuscript (on the final page IOL Tib J 331.III, f.11v), which does not affect the writing at all. There are a few places, however, where a letter has been partially rubbed out, but generally still remaining legible; most complete rubbing out of letters from the sheets appear to represent deliberate deletions (eg. IOL Tib J 331.III: f.6r, lines 4–5).

There is no doubt that the texts are well-crafted writings deliberately presented as coherent works, with careful layout[4] and pagination[5] – the main text of the manuscripts at least are almost certainly copies of established text rather than one–off compositions or sets of notes. Moreover, in our close examination of IOL Tib J 331.III, we have found some evidence (see Ch. 6 below, p. 94 note 24, 96 note 35) which would

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[1] An earlier version of part of this chapter and the following chapter was included in an article entitled, "A Dunhuang Phurpa Consecration Rite: IOL Tib J 331.III's Consecrations Section", and is due to be published in Matthew Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (eds) *Chinese and Tibetan Tantra at Dunhuang*, a Special double edition of *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* (ISSN: 0904-2431), Brill, Leiden.

[2] And note that of these nine lines, four are found in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*'s *Phur pa bcu gnyis*.

[3] We have consulted three editions of the NGB in considering this long parallel: the mTshams brag edition (M), beginning Volume Chi 1023.4; the sDe dge xylograph edition (D), beginning Volume Wa 348v.7; and the gTing skyes edition (T), beginning Volume Sha 523.6. These three are representatives of the three lines of textual descent (Bhutanese, Eastern Tibetan, Southern Central) which we have found in our other studies of Phur pa texts from the NGB (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 16–18, 65–74). Here, mTshams brag has been used for citation of the parallel text, but it has been noted if there are significant variants in the other editions consulted.

[4] For instance, there are ruled red margins down the sides of the sheets and the lines of the main text are fairly straight and evenly spaced; probably written using some form of guidelines, although there is no evidence of ruling as such. The interlinear notes found in the first and third texts are less stylised, not written in such straight lines as the main text, and indeed, where there is more than one note between a line, the writing is not always positioned at the same level. Two lines of note may be cramped between one pair of lines, while another note between the same lines may be positioned equidistant between the lines (eg. IOL Tib J 331.I, f.1, between lines 3–4, and 4–5).

[5] For all three texts, in the left margin, we find the pagination, written sideways and centred.

indicate a greater likelihood that the annotations were copied over from an earlier source manuscript rather than representing freshly written commentary.

The style of handwriting is similar across the three texts, the main text in a beautifully executed script which is mid-way between *dbu med* and *dbu can*, and which is found in many of the Dunhuang manuscripts. The letters of the smaller annotations found in the first and third texts are for the most part formed in the same way, but some move closer to an *dbu med* or handwriting style.[6] The writing closely resembles IOL Tib J 594 and 647,[7] which Samten Karmay (1988: 42, 59) identified as early examples of the *'Bru ma* script later found in parts of Khams, A mdo or Bhutan. At a more general level, the writing style can be considered an example of what Takeuchi (forthcoming) refers to as the Post-Imperial style.

There are a number of distinctive features about IOL Tib J 331.II in comparison with the other two texts. The size and colour of the folios is exactly the same, but the paper does seem slightly different in texture. The surface is not quite so smooth, as though we have a different batch of the same type of paper. The writing is also significantly larger, a difference at least in part related to the absence of annotations: the scribe had more available space to fill given that all three texts have a standard five main lines of text per page. It would seem that a slightly wider nib might have been used. The writing is also not quite so straight as in the other two texts; nor are the lines exactly evenly spaced on the page on all sheets. In relation to the style of handwriting, the first and the third texts give the reversed *gi gu* almost exclusively,[8] while its usage in the second text is extensive although not invariable. The *yig mgo* is almost identically shaped in IOL Tib J 331.I and III, but is more horizontally shaped in IOL Tib J 331.II.

The codicological and palaeographical evidence, then, might suggest that the second text may have been written by a different scribe, and that if all three texts are part of a single collection, its positioning immediately after IOL Tib J 331.I would seem unlikely to have represented its original placement. The probability that even if the texts were part of one collection, the second did not immediately follow the first is strengthened by the text numbering or volume identification letters found at the beginning of the first and second texts.[9] Unlike some Dunhuang manuscripts (such as IOL Tib J 321), we do not have a text or volume identification given on every sheet. However, the first folio of IOL Tib J 331.I is marked, "kha" and the first folio of IOL Tib J 331.II is marked, "cha". The likelihood that these letters indicate sequential texts or volumes would seem confirmed by some writing we find at the end of IOL Tib J 331.II, f.6v.3, after the terminating, "rdzogs s-ho//": "ka kha ga nga ca cha//" Since this text was marked "cha", this seems to indicate a review of the texts or volumes completed, ie, ka to cha. There is no identifying letter on IOL Tib J 331.III. If it had been produced as part of the same collection as IOL Tib J 331.I, and perhaps penned by the same scribe, as their similarities might lead us to conjecture, this would suggest that each identification letter perhaps represented more than one text. In any case, it would appear that there should be other texts between

6 It appears that a finer pen has been used, so that smaller writing can still be written clearly. There are some slight inconsistencies between the lettering in the notes: for example, some but not all of the attached letter ra are shaped a little differently from those in the main text. Whereas there is a slight upward curve in the attached ra given on khro in the main text, it generally slopes downwards on those given in the notes, such as on the first lines of f.1r. In a few cases, such as srog on f.2r, between lines 2–3, and instances of kro on f.2v, the ra is shaped consistently with those in the main text.

7 Note, however, the difference that the main text in IOL Tib J 594 is written in reddish-brown coloured ink, distinguishing it clearly from the annotations in black.

8 In the third text, there are just three instances of *phyir* and two instances of *ni* where the *gi gu* are not reversed. The first text has a single instance of an unreversed *gi gu* on the word *dmyigs*.

9 De la Vallée Poussin (1962: xv) pointed out that such identification letters in Dunhuang manuscripts may relate to the numbering of texts or volumes, or may alternatively represent each hundred pages, as in IOL Tib J 619. In this manuscript fragment of one text (http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=IOL Tib J 619), folio *Ka brgya' tham* is followed by *Kha gcig*. In the case of IOL Tib J 331, the texts are paginated separately, and none of them are long enough for the figures to exceed one hundred. De la Vallée Poussin (1962: xvi) also discusses various other uses of alphabetical lettering for folio pagination purposes, but again, this is not at issue here.

IOL Tib J 331.I and 331.II (even if the letters correspond to individual texts rather than volumes, we are missing ga, nga and ca).

There is no explicit linkage in subject matter across the three texts, but nonetheless, we do find some overlap. Since the three might be from one collection, and IOL Tib J 331.I and III might have been produced at the same time, possibly even within the same volume or bundle of texts, it is worth considering what kinds of textual connections there might be between them. At the same time, like other collections of tantric texts, they are quite separate works. What parallels we have found in other sources have not crossed over the divisions between the three. For instance, as noted above, virtually the whole of IOL Tib J 331.III is found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but we have not identified any passages from the other two texts there. Similarly, Dalton (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 208–9) points out the connection between IOL Tib J 331.II and 464.I, quite unconnected in that case from material in the other sections here.

IOL Tib J 331.I and II are briefly discussed by Eastman (1983: 52–53). The first, very short text of two folios (IOL Tib J 331.I), is attributed to 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, perhaps referring to the Mañjuśrīmitra from Ceylon famous for his many works in the *bsTan 'gyur*, especially those on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, and subsequently given an important place in the *rDzogs chen* lineages. Certainly the colophon here identifies him as the teacher from Sing ga la (*sing ga la 'i slobs dpon 'jam dpal bshes gnyen*).[10] The text gives a resume of important aspects of sādhana practice. It begins with a homage to Vajrasattva, refers briefly to empowerment, single-pointed meditation, securing an appropriate place for the practice, and arranging the appropriate offerings. It then mentions non-discursive meditation (the interlineal commentary refers to the *samādhi of thusness*), a body, speech and mind consecration through the three seed syllables (*ōm āṃ/aṃ hūṃ*),[11] and meditation on the white syllable *a* at the heart, radiating and re-absorbing light, filling the

[10] We do not know for certain whether the attribution is historically valid or not, especially given the subsequent production of pseudepigrapha attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra by later rNying ma authors of the rDzogs chen tradition. Ronald Davidson (1981: 3ff) has discussed Mañjuśrīmitra's known writings on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. On examining IOL Tib J 331.I and comparing it with Mañjuśrīmitra's works, and in particular, his *Bodhicittabhāvanā* texts (To. 2562-3 and 2591 [representing the *sDe dge bsTan 'gyur* edition, as numbered in H. Ui et al., eds, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*, Sendai: Tōhoku University, 1934]), Ronald Davidson advises us (personal communication 26/03/2008) that it is unlikely to have been written by Mañjuśrīmitra, since the language, such as the use of, "ye nas" (1v.3), does not fit with Indian Buddhist terminology in general nor with Mañjuśrīmitra's works in particular. On the separate question of a possible link between IOL Tib J 331.I and the rDzogs chen works attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra, Jean-Luc Achard, who has studied several of these works, considers IOL Tib J 331.I not quite consistent with their very recognisable style (personal communication 5/5/2005).

[11] Note that the second syllable, *āṃ* or *aṃ*, does not appear to be an error for *āḥ*, which is more usual in Tibetan practice. It is repeated twice here, and is furthermore consistent with the set of three given in the NGB's *rDo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* [*Myang 'das*] (Chapter 18: D68r; M149v(298); G133v; T171v(342); R138v; N80r), where we find *āṃ* in the sDe dge edition and *aṃ* in all other editions. In the *Myang 'das*, the speech syllable *āṃ*/*aṃ* is located above the tongue (*lce steng*); in IOL Tib J 331.I, in the mouth (*khar*). This contrasts with the speech syllable *āḥ* in the usual series, which is associated with the throat centre. Moreover, we seem also to have an instance of red *āṃ* at the tongue given in the present Phur pa text, IOL Tib J 331.III (3v), where the interlinear comments outline five seed syllables at five places in the body (see below), and IOL Tib J 331.II (4v.5) similarly spells out the five syllables with āṃ in the second place. There remains the possibility that the appearance of *ṃ* in these texts might have originated in an attempt to represent Sanskrit visarga before a standard convention for its representation was established. There is no direct evidence to support this speculation, however. Elsewhere in this manuscript of three texts, there are a number of instances where a visarga has simply been omitted where we might expect it (eg. we find *hri*, and *dza hūṃ baṃ ho*). It is worth noting that the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra gives the syllables of the five Buddhas in the context of its Chapter 8 on consecrations as, *hūṃ*, *oṃ*, *sva*, *aṃ* and *ha* (*gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 176–177; T Vol. Pha: 25–6). Moreover, other Dunhuang *Mahāyoga* texts also give the triad of *oṃ*, *aṃ*, *hūṃ*. The text following this one in the IOL collection, a manuscript with connections to the *Māyājāla*/*Guhyagarbha* literature, gives *ōṃ āṃ hūṃ* in the context of purifying one's body, speech and mind (IOL Tib J 332: f.7r.2–3). We have found an occurrence – in this case, of *ōṃ*, *ām* (with a final ma, not an anusvāra, and again indicating the mouth – *khar*), *hum*, *swa*, *ha* – in Pelliot Tibétain 42 (f.46.1–2), and another similar reference in the same text (f.50.2–3), associating am with the speech. A brief mention of the three syllables, *oṃ*, *aṃ*, and *huṃ* in the context of body, speech and mind consecrations respectively, also occurs in IOL Tib J 754, Section 8. See also Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton's discussion [2004: 66] of Pelliot Tibétain 626 and 634. Furthermore, *āṃ* as the appropriate syllable for the speech in the context of the

universe. The writing presented as the main text is fairly brief on the specifics of the visualisation, speaking of enjoining, creating benefit universally, and meditating on clarity experienced in sameness, like the radiant stainless autumnal moon. The commentary elaborates on the body, the syllable, and balls of light (*'od ril*), mixing like water and milk, and alludes to the meditative process by which the buddhas, stimulated by the radiating light, return light rays of blessings, which then purify beings. The text continues by giving a number of symbolic associations of the components of the syllable *hūṃ*, which as in the case of the syllable *a*, radiates and reabsorbs light rays. Here again, the commentary elaborates on the activities, and it refers to the syllable's light rays becoming the, "incomparable cause" (*bla na myed pa'I rgyur*), possibly suggesting the *causal samādhi,* the third of what became the classic categories for *Mahāyoga*, the three *samādhi*s. In this case, the result is vajra primordial wisdom, which the commentary expands on by referring to a meditation on a golden vajra. The main text equates it with the primordial uncompounded nature of mind, which is generated as the (deity) form. It speaks of perfecting the visualisation through the mantra, of making firm the three consecrations, of binding the state and sending forth the consort. Offerings are made, the mantra meditated on, and siddhis received. After this, the consort again dissolves into the *jñānasattva*. The syllable *hūṃ* then dissolves upwards, melting into the dot or seed (*thIg le*) above, which itself dissolves into the dharmadhātu. The text concludes that even the ordinary body is thus protected by buddha body, speech and mind, and the meditative state is continually present in the mind. After the colophon, there is a list of the topics discussed, followed by a short eulogy of the teaching as the innermost of views and the revelation of the real buddha body.

This text, and especially the interlineal commentary, provides an overall structure for a tantric deity practice. It is quite detailed in its presentation of the meditations on the syllables, elaborates on their significance and indeed, the significance of the ritual symbolism as a whole. At the same time, it says nothing about the actual deity to be visualised, nor does it give the mantra for the main recitation. In short, it may supply instruction *about* the practice, but it does not appear to be an actual liturgy to be recited, and it would not in itself be sufficient as a tantric practice for generating Vajrasattva.

The second, unattributed, text (IOL Tib J 331.II) is six folios in length and gives greater detail on tantric visualisation practice.[12] As noted above, unlike the first and third text in the manuscript, it does not have any interlineal comments. It begins and ends by stating the goal of transformation into Vajrasattva. It lists the prerequisites for the practice, mentioning the perfection(s) (*phun sum tshogs*), a category which is expanded at length in the IOL Tib J 331.III, although it need not be the same list which is implied, and in this case, it may simply be intended to refer to the perfection of empowerment and samaya. It also elaborates a little on the importance of a quiet and appropriate place for the practice, referred to in the text above. Attention is again given to the practice place in the Phur pa text, although there is a clear contrast between the place mentioned in these two Vajrasattva texts, emphasising a contemplative and pleasant environment, and the

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family syllables meditated on at the parts of the body is preserved in the Phur pa tradition of the fifteenth century Ratna gling pa (see the popular *gTer mdzod* edition of the regular practice, *rDo rje Phur pa Yang gsang bla med kyi gsang sgrub rgyun gyi phrin las rnam rol snying po*, in *dPal chen KI la ya'i chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* Volume 10, 431.2), and also in the more recent bDud 'joms *gter gsar* tradition of the *gNam lcags spu gri* (in the *Las byang* Ritual Manual, Dudjom Volume Tha, 106.1; and the *bsNyen yig* Commentary, Volume Da, 106.3). Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, a contemporary rNying ma pa lama and scholar, commented that there are a number of contemporary rNying ma pa ritual contexts where *aṃ* is used as Amitābha's syllable or used in place of the syllable *āḥ* (personal communication, November 2006).

12 Jake Dalton's catalogue entry for this section of IOL Tib J 331 (J. Dalton and S. van Schaik, 2005, http://idp.bl.uk/) points out that this text is a version of a text also found in the London Dunhuang collection (IOL Tib J 464.I), under the title, "skal bskyed ces bya ba bsgrub pa'i thabs". Contrary to the impression given in his entry for IOL Tib J 464.I, that much of the first part of this text is omitted in IOL Tib J 464.I, so far as we can see, most of it is present, although with some quite variant readings. A close comparison of the two versions would be necessary to test Dalton's suggestion that IOL Tib J 331.II seems to be a later version since it adds material and has corrupt readings. It is an interesting hypothesis, but there is nothing to prevent a text being summarised, or a poor copyist from corrupting an earlier version of the text, so we would need more convincing evidence to gain certainty.

place appropriate for the Phur pa practice described in IOL Tib J 331.III. The core of IOL Tib J 331.II comments on the meditative visualisation, starting with the famous three *samādhis* of *Mahāyoga*. The first, the *samādhi of thusness*, which was referred to in the interlineal commentary of IOL Tib J 331.I, is this time not introduced by name, but its description is clear. The second and third are referred to explicitly, and there is no doubt here that the *causal samādhi* denotes the seed syllable from which the deity's maṇḍala arises. As in the previous text, the syllable *a*, 'white and shining like Venus' (1v.5), is again given as this first seed syllable. The text continues with building up the foundation of the elements (fire, wind, water and earth), each above the one before, arising from the appropriate seed syllables, and the Immeasurable Palace above with oneself as the deity. As in the previous text, it is clear that the descriptions given are not intended to substitute for a liturgy text; the reader (2v.1) is referred to the scriptural authority (*gzhung*) for the details. Brief reference is made to the activities of enjoining, making offerings, the descent (of blessings) and mantra recitation, and the five buddhas and the wrathful ones (*khro bo*) are mentioned. There is then some instruction for requesting empowerment, involving circumambulation of the maṇḍala, making obeisance at its different doors and so forth. The hundred syllables – presumably the hundred syllable mantra for Vajrasattva – is referred to, and the transmission of buddha body, speech and mind consecration, followed by meditations on the syllable, *hūṃ*, and the mantras of the principal deity and wrathful ones. Meditation on the activities of the mantras introduce the consecration of the five places through the five seed syllables, *ōṃ*,[13] *āṃ*, *hūṃ*, *swa*, *ha*. There are further meditations on the maṇḍala, the firm establishment of Yamāntaka, Mahābala, Hayagrīva, and Amṛtakuṇḍalin in the four directions, and of the offering goddesses and other deities in and around the maṇḍala. In the final section, the importance of sustaining meditation in post-meditation activities is stressed, and the fruits of the practice in terms of the specific Vajrasattva realisation and qualities attained.

Against this backdrop emphasising the deity sādhana meditations of Vajrayāna practice, the Phur pa text, IOL Tib J 331 III, might seem rather a contrast: in common with other Dunhuang manuscripts relating to Phur pa, the focus is primarily on practical ritual instructions, aimed at overcoming obstacles or evil forces. Although this ritual process may be infused with the ultimate view, there is little of the standard *Mahāyoga* sādhana visualisations which we find in IOL Tib J 331.I and II, and which became fundamental to the practice of and the commentarial literature on Phur pa in Tibet, where self-generation of the yogin as the heruka deity Vajrakīlaya (usually with Vajrasattva visualised at his heart) features overwhelmingly as the central focus. There are nonetheless a few clear references to Phur pa as a deity with whom one should identify: we find one brief mention in the opening preliminaries and one in the context of the perfection of recitation, which begins with a reference to "oneself entering into the samādhi of the karma deity".[14]

There is also a meditation on the *phur pa* implement arising as the deity and maṇḍala in the consecrations section. As we have seen (p.53-54, 66-67 above), there were hints of such a meditation in PT 44: here, we find a rather more explicit description of the Phur pa with a heruka upper body and a *kīla*-shaped lower body. In the broader Vajrakīlaya literature, such an iconographical form most typically represents the 'Supreme Son' or *sras mchog* form of the Vajrakīlaya deity, frequently associated with the material *kīla* as a ritual implement, as the deity's nirmāṇakāya, and as the outer retinue of Phur pa deities.[15] Here also (3r.1), the

[13] This spelling, *ōṃ*, continues to be used in later tradition. Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, a contemporary rNying ma pa lama who is also a scholar of Sanskrit, informed us (verbal communication, Littlebourne, Kent, 2004) that although the long syllable, *ōṃ*, is not used in Sanskrit sources, its usage is a deliberate and intended feature in rNying ma pa tantras and sādhana texts. In editing the *rNying ma 'gyud 'bum* Phur pa tantra, the *Myang ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*, we found that the sDe dge xylograph edition fairly consistently used the spelling, interestingly since there is evidence that the editors of this renowned edition systematically corrected the spellings of the mantras throughout (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 67, 89-90).

[14] bdag nyid las kyi lha 'i ting nge 'dzin du zhugs te (6r)

[15] One should note that exceptions do occur. For example, in some instances forms with heruka upper bodies and kīla lower bodies can represent *dharmakāya* deities of the five enlightened families (eg. in the *bDud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri*, Volume Tha: 94–105, where there are the five Kīlayas of the families, but also in the outer retinue, twenty-one Supreme Sons).

form is born as Phur bu's son, and the meditation on him constitutes the nirmāṇakāya consecration. As noted above (Ch. 3, p.39), we have much evidence for this form in the Dunhuang corpus.

Moreover, this Phur pa text is the longest of the three in IOL Tib J 331, some eleven folios long, and it contains much material repeated in variant forms in a number of NGB texts, some of which remains relevant to the broader Phur pa practice traditions, including those of the Sa skya pa. Above all, virtually in its entirety, the text is replicated in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, and that text has had a clear impact on at least one branch of the commentarial literature, as represented by Mag gsar (2003),[16] which will be considered below. It is possible that this influence in fact contributed to the rise to an entire Phur pa tradition. Certainly, a traditional historical account speaks of the *Phur pa phun sum tshogs pa*, linked to the Blue-skirted (*gsham sngon can*) Phur pa cycle, both of which are connected to the lineage of gNyags Jñānakumāra (Dudjom 1991 Vol.I: 603, 712; bDud 'joms *gSung 'bum* Vol. Ka: 285.5–6, 468.4–5). However, at this stage we have not identified any Phur pa practices which appear to acknowledge descent from this transmission. Also, the references in themselves tell us little about the content of this lineage, so we are cautious of assuming the account implies that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* as we know it helped to generate an important branch of the tradition,[17] even if, indeed, this text or its teachings are implied by the mention of the *Phur pa phun sum tshogs pa*.

The Structure and Content of IOL Tib J 331.III

The text is entitled, *Zhi ba 'i mchog 'pho ba 'i 'phrin las bsdus pa* (*The Supreme Pacification, the Concise Enlightened Activity of Transference*). Its brief opening section begins with the classic justification for the Phur pa practice: the necessity to subdue the extremely ferocious, who cannot be subdued by peaceful means. It continues with preliminaries, such as prostrations, bodhicitta, and a very brief mention of deity meditation. The main text refers to an abiding in the blood-drinker's heart or the blood-drinker dwelling in the heart, identical with the supreme pinnacle [of] primordial wisdom, while the interlinear annotations add that the true nature of the heruka heart Phur pa is the totally pure primordial wisdom dharmadhātu.

On the second side of the first folio, we then embark on the principal topics of the text, structured around a list of "the seven perfections" (*phun sum tshogs pa bdun po*), of the (i) form, (ii) consecrations, (iii) recitation, (iv) activities, (v) time, (vi) place and (vii) oneself (ie. the practitioner). Now, this classification is a little different from "the five perfections" (*phun sum tshogs pa lnga*) – of (i) the place, (ii) the principal practitioner, (iii) the retinue, (iv) the requisite substances and (v) the time – referred to widely in ritual manuals and commentaries in a *Mahāyoga* Generation Stage context.[18] The fifth, sixth, and seventh categories as given here are exactly the same as the other list's numbers five, one and two respectively. The other list's "retinue" (*'khor*), however, is not mentioned in our list. The other list's category of "substances"

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[16] We are grateful to the Tibetan scholar, Hūṃchen Chenagtshang, of Ngak Mang Institute, Qinghai, who we met at the IATS conference in Bonn, 2006, and who very kindly made us a gift of his recently published edition of this Phur pa commentary by Mag gsar Paṇḍita Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang po (1781–1828), a famous Reb kong master.

[17] The same historical account also lists a lineage of a Black Deity (*lha nag*) Phur pa, said to be named on account of the colour of the deities (Dudjom 1991 Vol.I: 710, 712; *bDud 'joms gSung 'bum*, Vol. Ka: 465.3, 467.4–5; see also 'Jigs med gling pa Vol. Ja: 13.6 – 14.1) and based on the *Mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*. But this important Phur pa tantra (Cantwell and Mayer 2007) does not have any clear description of a maṇḍala of black Phur pa deities, so the relationship between the textual sources and the transmission need not necessarily be entirely straightforward.

[18] Phur pa texts which discuss this list include the *'Bum nag* commentary (*bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 272–287; Boord: 143–153), that by 'Jam mgon A myes zhabs (146–156), and the *sgrub khog* section of the *bDud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri* cycle (230–231). The list is itself a variant of a list by the same name, also referred to as five certainties (*nges pa lnga*) – of teacher, teaching, retinue, place and time – which relate to the attributes of the sambhogakāya (Dorje and Kapstein, in Dudjom 1991 Vol.2: 141). The commentary by Mag gsar (2003), however, uses the same list of the seven *phun sum tshogs pa* that we have in IOL Tib J 331.III, following the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, which (as noted above) includes almost the whole of IOL Tib J 331.III's content.

(*rdzas*) may include consideration of the wrathful substances and the ritual effigy's form,[19] thus corresponding with part of our section on activities. Yet most of what is in this text included in the sections on the form, consecrations and activities do have parallels elsewhere in the Phur pa literature, but they tend to be found in other sections of standard ritual manuals rather than within sections specifically subsumed according to the "perfections". The most substantial section here, some five folios, is that on activities. The consecrations also take up around three and a half folios, while the other five sections are very brief. Thus, while the *phun sum tshogs pa* classification is partially shared with the later tradition's most widely evidenced set, the real interest of this text is in two categories – consecrations and activities – which do not form part of the list of the *phun sum tshogs pa* found most commonly in later sources.[20]

(i) The perfection of form

The perfection of form is concerned with the materials from which the *phur pa*/*phur bu* ritual implement is made, and its features. Different metals and woods are mentioned, and the classic *phur pa* shape – with two knots, an eight facetted upper section and a three-sided blade – is outlined. These lines also support one of the findings of Mayer and Cantwell 1994: that the classic Tibetan *kīla* design as we know it today was already in place by the time the Dunhuang texts were written. Not all the elements are mentioned in the short description here, but when taken together with descriptions given in other texts we consider in this book, especially IOL Tib J 754 and PT 349 (see below, Ch. 7, p.138, 142-143 and Ch. 8, 158-159), it is clear that a standard design and imagery in continuity with the Indian precedents (see Ch.2 above, p.16-17, 19) was well-established, with small variations in specific details.

(ii) The perfection of consecrations

The lengthy consecrations section begins with discussion of a three kāya consecration. The dharmakāya consecration is only briefly referred to, consisting of a meditation on emptiness. The sambhogakāya consecration concerns deities of the five families in union with their consorts, arising from the seed syllable, *hūṃ*. In later tradition, *hūṃ* remains the central mantra syllable for Phur pa visualisations. The nirmāṇakāya consecration focuses on the deified *phur bu* itself, the upper part visualised as a wrathful heruka, while the lower part is the triangular pointed iron *phur pa* blade.

In later sādhanas and commentaries, we may find the central Phur pa deity, consort and inner circle described as the root maṇḍala, whose essential nature (*ngo bo*) is the dharmakāya, their immediate retinue of ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) is described as the essential nature of the sambhogakāya, while the nirmāṇakāya manifests as an outer emanation or retinue, variable in enumeration, but always exactly such deities of half-heruka, half-implement form, which can also be identified as the hand-implement.[21] Clearly, in this consecration ritual, the deified *phur bu* as hand implement is centre stage, and we can also equate it with these "nirmāṇakāya" forms of the later tradition.

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[19] For example, in the *'Bum nag* (*bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 284–5 Boord 151ff).

[20] As noted above, unlike many of the most well-known Phur pa commentaries, Mag gsar (2003) does use the seven-fold list to structure his work on Phur pa. Interestingly, however, while he follows the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* closely in presenting the perfections of practitioner, place, and form, the content of his sections on the remaining categories of the list entirely departs from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*: he uses the headings of consecrations, recitation and activities to discuss the successive stages of the Phur pa deity sādhana practice. It is also worth noting that the parallel passage in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 8 (D Volume Pa 212v) mentioned below ends with the same *phun sum tshogs pa* list found here and in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*. However, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* simply presents the list but does not proceed to use it to order any of its subsequent material.

[21] See, for instance, the *'Bum nag* (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 324.1–2; Boord: 177) and the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* (Vol. Da 98.2–3).

The text continues by specifying that the five family consecration is performed by consecrating the seeds at the five places, while the body, speech and mind consecration is effected through seed syllables at the *phur pa*'s crown, waist and point. Further meditations on syllables *phaṭ* at the [blade's?] edges and *hūṃ* at the sides follow; wrathful ones are emanated in the ten directions, and powers and consecrations drawn in. We then have a meditation, versions of which are found extensively in the Phur pa literature, in the context of consecration and empowerment. Syllables on the fingers of the hands are transformed into male and female deities of the five families, uniting when the hands are joined. The *phur pa* is rolled and the bodhicitta from the deities' unions is dissolved into it. With further mudrās and mantras, the *phur pa* emits sparks of fire, and is established in front, struck with mustard seeds and fumigated with frankincense.

(iii) The perfection of recitation

There is a short section on recitation, concerned with a mantra meditation focussed on sending forth a *phur pa* wrathful one from the seed syllable, *hūṃ*, in one's heart. Having accomplished activities, he is then reabsorbed. Appropriate numbers of mantra recitations are specified. The given mantra is clearly oriented to destructive activities, and is reminiscent of mantras used in *smad las* (*subsidiary ritual*) rather than *stod las* (*primary ritual*) practices centred on meditative accomplishment. Perhaps when this text was written, the *stod las*/ *smad las* opposition was not so well-defined, or perhaps, Phur pa rites were at this stage used much less for the primary meditative purposes, which are presented in the Vajrasattva texts of IOL Tib J 331.I and II.

(iv) The perfection of activities

The section on activities begins by referring to preliminary rites, such as the examination of the practice place and the construction of boundaries to keep out disturbing forces. The meditative expulsion of obstacles is accompanied by the establishment of ten *phur pa*s as the wrathful ones in the ten directions.[22] The practitioner should then honour the five buddha family deities and those who will perform the acitvities, and should complete the Approach (*bsnyen pa*), presumably involving the recitation practice mentioned in the section above. This is followed by instructions on making and ritually preparing an effigy for the *sgrol ba* ("liberating killing") rite, on summoning and binding the negative forces in the effigy, and on the use of the *phur bu* along with appropriate meditations and mantras to threaten and strike the various parts of the effigy. The text then gives a further series of mantras, mudrās, commands to recite and other ritual activities to perform, such as attacking with mustard seeds and fumigating with incense. Amoghasiddhi is meditated upon, lending his support to the ritual activities. Black ritual articles and *gtor ma* help to activate various worldly deities to carry out appropriate duties.

(v–viii) The perfections of time, place, and oneself

The final lines of the text (just over one side of the folio) deal with the remaining three perfections of the time, place, and the person who performs the practice. Appropriate times of the calendar are mentioned; rather predictably, planetary conjunctions are said to be suitable, although the actual specifics of lunar dates given do not seem quite to correspond with most other sources. Consistent with other Phur pa texts, the point is made that the timing is perfected when the Approach practice has been completed, with the signs of success manifested.[23] The place should accord with the imagery of the wrathful maṇḍala, specifying the standard feature of the solitary tree, although since this section consists of one brief sentence, no detail is given. The practitioner should have the basic Buddhist virtues intact, be skilled in the ritual meditation and have pure tantric samaya.

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[22] See Cantwell 1989: 234–236, for a description and discussion of such a ritual for marking out the symbolic boundaries.

[23] See, for instance, the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 11 and the Dudjom *gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*, Volume Da: 163.

Parallel passages in other sources

General Considerations

The most extensive parallel of IOL Tib J 331.III is found in the text of Chapters 8 to 11 of the NGB's *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*. Chapter 8 contains much of the introductory material in our text. The list of perfections is given twice in this introduction. The first list is in the same order in both IOL Tib J 331.III and the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, and this order is reiterated unchanged in IOL Tib J 331.III's version of the second list. However, this second list is given in an alternative order in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, which is then used to structure its next chapters containing the same content as IOL Tib J 331.III. Thus, the order of its sections is not the same as the order we find in the Tib J 331.III, as outlined in the summary above. In the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, perfection of oneself, the practitioner, is completed in Chapter 8; Chapter 9 includes the perfections of time, place and form, and begins consecrations; the remainder of the section on the perfection of consecrations takes up Chapter 10, and Chapter 11 consists of the sections on the perfection of recitation and activities.

Besides this parallel for the whole text, eleven passages of the text have lines or verses reminiscent of other NGB, sādhana and commentarial Phur pa texts; in some cases, merely the themes correspond, while in others we find very closely parallel text which must indicate a shared source.[24] The longest of these parallel passages occur in our two longest sections. The whole of the consecrations section – some eighty-eight *tshig rkang* in length – runs parallel to a long section of the NGB's *rDo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*'s [ie the *Myang 'das*] Chapter 9, while over two folios of the activities section, describing mudrās and mantras, runs in parallel to a substantial passage in the NGB's *Phur pa bcu gnyis* Chapter 14. Although this passage from the *Phur pa bcu gnyis'*s Chapter 14 omits the mantras, the corresponding mantras are found in exactly correct order (right up to and including that which completes the activities section) in Chapter 13 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*.

It is quite possible that our text was directly drawing on the then extant versions of what later became the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* or these other NGB tantras, although it does not specifically say so. This need not surprise us: precise citation of exact textual sources has not been universally followed in Buddhist writings. Nevertheless, explicit reference to named tantric texts does occur in the Dunhuang version of the *Thabs zhags* root text and commentary, where several scriptural titles are mentioned as sources, and these correspond with titles of later NGB texts, including a *Phur pa bcu gnyis* and its *Phyi ma*.[25] Pelliot Tibétain 44 also makes a less precise kind of citation, where an entire collection of Phur pa texts is mentioned, called the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*. We have not yet found any early references to the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* as such. It is also not certain that a specific text bearing the title of the *Myang 'das* existed at the time when this Dunhuang text was written, although two Phur pa scriptural texts by that name were referred to in 1094 by a polemical opponent of dubious tantras, Pho brang Zhi ba 'od, at the very head of his list of Phur pa tantras considered to be Tibetan compositions and not authentically Indian.[26]

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[24] As a brief summary, we have identified similar or parallel text in the following NGB texts apart from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*: the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 20), the *Myang 'das* (Chapters 3, 8, 9, 13), the *rDo rje khros pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (Chapters 6, 7), and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* (Chapter 10). As we shall see, variations on some parts of the Consecrations section are also found widely throughout the literature, and Mag gsar's commentary (2003), following the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, has further parallels.

[25] See the *Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng ba*: IOL Tib. J 321, and see below, Chapter 10: 191. Despite some searching, we have not found the *Thabs zhags* commentary's citation of text in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* version discussed here (which in any case does not have a *phyi ma*). It might refer to either of the two other quite separate *Phur pa bcu gnyis* texts in the NGB rather than to that (but we have not yet identified the passage in either of them), or to a further *Phur pa bcu gnyis* tantra now lost; or to earlier and slightly different prototypes of one or more of the texts of that name now found in the NGB.

[26] Karmay 1980: 14–15; see also Karmay 1998: 135–6. Specifically, Zhi ba 'od speaks of a long and short version of the text ("*Mya ngan las 'das pa che chung la sogs pa*" Karmay 1980: 18).

Thus, it is possible that IOL Tib J 331.III is presenting material, unacknowledged, from one or more Phur pa tantras already in existence. Although IOL Tib J 331.III gives no explicit acknowledgement of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, it remains a strong possibility that it was drawing from it – not only is virtually the entire text paralleled within the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but the parallels are very close with few variants. The main evidence that we do not have a simple case of copying from one source to the other is the different ordering of the sections. It is interesting that the framing of the shared text found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* affects the presentation of the material. Whereas IOL Tib J 331.III appears as a well-structured teaching on the topics concerned, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* explicitly presents itself as Buddha Word. Each chapter or section begins with a preamble in which Karma Heruka questions the Victorious One about the subject, and the teaching is then his response. After the topic is completed, it is marked off as speech, and there may be the title given, or a further bridging section to introduce the following section in the same way. There is no way of knowing whether IOL Tib J 331.III might have merely omitted this discourse which frames the text as a scripture, or whether the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* – or at least the common ancestor of all the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* editions which we have today – might have added in the framing narrative to create the text as a tantric scripture.

The other aspect of the differing presentation is that for IOL Tib J 331.III, this text is clearly presented as a stand alone teaching with its own title, not a fragment of a larger work. In the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, on the contrary, our text makes up only Chapters 8 to 11 out of a text of fifteen chapters. A full study of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* would be necessary to judge the relative probabilities of IOL Tib J 331.III selecting an extract from an already existent longer text, or of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* integrating an independent text into a larger scripture. In short, the sharing, recycling and re-framing of text passages which we witness between the root tantras and Dunhuang manuscripts make it hard to assess which direction any particular movement was taking, given that we have little firm evidence about the historical formation and development of specific Phur pa tantras such as the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*.

It is rather less likely that our Dunhuang text was drawing directly on early versions of the *Myang 'das* or the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. Had it done so, we might also expect it would take passages which form in some sense discrete units in these texts, but this is not in general what we find. The specific frames given for them in the two scriptures are rather different from those in this Dunhuang text.[27]

There might also have been early versions of other Phur pa tantras extant at the period of the manuscript's compilation which could have been further possible sources for the shared text. Another possibility is that there might instead have been separate common sources for the parallel sections. As yet, we have not

[27] The pattern is not neat and consistent. (1) In the case of the substantial parallel passage between IOL Tib J 331.III's activity section and part of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14, the IOL Tib J 331.III passage is completed near the end of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14, and its end would appear to mark approximately the end of a discrete section; yet it begins in the middle of a *Phur pa bcu gnyis* Chapter 14 section describing mudrās, the earlier ones of which are not included here. (2) The *Myang 'das* parallel for IOL Tib J 331.III's consecration section is from a chapter which is primarily concerned with the consecration of ritual materials, including the *phur pa*, and the establishment of the deity forms. The overall topic is therefore in line, although the selection is not a clearly discrete unit within the chapter. The parallel begins in the middle of a series of consecrations described within the *Myang 'das*, and ends before a description of the established deities which elaborates on the earlier rites. (3) It is also worth noting that in the case of the corresponding section within the *Khu byug rol pa*, the parallel text extends from the final part of the consecrations section through into the first two *tshig rkang* of the recitation section, but continues with a quite different discussion of recitation. It would seem that there is much creative re-embedding of passages which do not necessarily constitute complete units in themselves, and there may also be some element of accidental mechanisms, such as folio loss or displacement, which may have resulted in a re-contextualising of the passages as they move from one Phur pa source to another. In our comparison of IOL Tib J 331.III with these Phur pa tantras, it is only in the case of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* where specific discrete sections are given in complete form, although ordered differently, in accordance with its second re-ordered version of the list, and not its first list which it shares with IOL Tib J 331.III.

identified what they might have been, but as mentioned above (see Chapter 1 p.10), we do have examples of text passages crossing tantric genres. Although the evidence of Pelliot Tibétain 44, of the Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary and the early polemical literature (and several other sources too), does collectively point towards several fully formed Phur pa scriptures already being in existence before the Dunhuang collection was closed, in addition, the sources for this particular text (and of course, the virtually identical sections with the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*) might also possibly include various other Tantric traditions that we know were popular at the time, for example, *Guhyagarbha*[28] or *Guhyasamāja*, which have much to say on the *phur pa*.

As mentioned above, in contrast to the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s use of the shared material, the text here is presented as a teaching on Phur pa rites, but not as *bka'* (*buddhavacana*) or the direct utterance of enlightened beings. It is hard to say whether or not its extensive (but unacknowledged) citations were from texts themselves already considered as *bka'* at the time it was compiled. Yet certainly, if these passages were not taken from already existent Phur pa texts considered as *bka'*, and were at this time still outside the corpus of scripture, they later entered it in their incorporation into the NGB tantras.

The Specific Parallels

a) The introductory section

The title and a few of the introductory lines are the only text which is absent from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*. The opening verse on the justification for the destructive practice, however, is found at the beginning of Chapter 8, where the parallelling starts. The verse also has a precise parallel in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s pivotal Chapter 7 on the taming of Rudra (D Vol. Pa 206r–v),[29] while a variant of it is found in Chapter 3 of the *Myang 'das* (D Vol. Zha 47v).[30] The seven *tshig rkang* which are found immediately after the verse are missing from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but a close parallel for some twelve lines in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 8 (D Vol. Pa 212v) begins just three lines after the verse. This means that we have not identified parallels in any sources for only five *tshig rkang* in the entire text, including the two which make up the title.

The two listings of the *phun sum tshogs pa* (IOL Tib J 331.III: 1v.2–3; 1v.4–2r.1) are found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (M Vol Chi: 1029.1–2; 1029.6–1030.1), and also in the eighteenth to nineteenth century commentator from Reb kong, Mag gsar Paṇḍita Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang po (Mag gsar 2003: 163), but as mentioned above, the order of the second listing is different in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and Mag gsar follows this source.

b) The phun sum tshogs pa sections

(i) The perfection of form

The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s parallel for this section (M Vol Chi: 1031.4 –7) is drawn on by Mag gsar (2003: 167). His entire section on form consists of this citation, which he introduces by noting that the perfection of form refers to the characteristics with which the practice *phur bu* should be endowed.[31] Apart from this exact parallel, descriptions of the basic shape and features of the *phur pa* are ubiquitous in the literature. Some lines found here might ultimately derive from an ancestor shared with different texts: the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 (D Vol. Zha 57r), for instance, has two lines which seem to precis the description

[28] For instance, the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 20 elaborates on performing the four activities, "striking" with appropriate *phur pa*s, such as a *phur pa* of joyous pride for increasing (nga rgyal dga' 'phro'i phur pas gdab), or a vajra passion *phur pa* (rdo rje chags pa'i phur pas gdab) for subjugating (*gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213–4).

[29] See Mayer 1996:169.

[30] See Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 144–145, and citations given in the notes to the text edition below.

[31] gzugs phun sum tshogs pa ni/ sgrub phur mtshan nyid dang ldan pa bya ste/

here: /*mgo dang rtsa ba ma nor bar*/ /*rgya mdud gnyis dang* [MG *su*] *zur brgyad dang*/ /*zur gsum pa ru rab tu bzhog* [TRN *gzhog*], while Chapter 8 (D Vol. Zha 54v) adds: /*tsher ma can gyi shing dag la*/ /*rtsa ba'i phyogs su rgya mdud bya*/. The *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 8 gives a more detailed account of the different metals, associating them with different activities. The *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 10 (D Vol. Pa 215v–216v) has a number of similar lines (including, /*rtsa ba'i logs su rgya mdud bya*/), although here, some points would seem more obviously contrasting: the five types of iron are given but are quite different from the list specified in the interlinear comments of our text.

(ii) The perfection of consecrations

The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s parallel for this lengthy section (M Vol Chi: 1031.1–1036.5) runs from Chapter 9, which has the three kāya consecrations, through to the end of Chapter 10, which consists of discussion of the remaining consecrations. In this case, however, the commentator Mag gsar does not follow his scriptural source for the list of perfections, discussing in great detail the Generation Stage (*bskyed rim*) sections of the sādhana practice instead (Mag gsar 2003: 167–267).

As mentioned above, the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 contains an equivalent passage for the entire section.[32] Much of it has very similar wording, line by line, and is clearly an alternate version of an identical common source; while other sections include paraphrases, summaries or expansions of the same material. The dharmakāya consecration is discussed in slightly different terms, and the opening of the sambhogakāya consecration section is phrased differently, making brief mentions of the same points; but the following lines begin to run more exactly parallel, clearly demonstrating a shared source. This part includes the description of the deified *phur pa* implement, which is, however, rather more lengthy in the *Myang 'das*. Following the shared conclusion to the nirmāṇakāya consecration, the next two *tshig rkang* given in our Dunhuang manuscript (3v.3–4) are absent in the *Myang 'das*, but it then continues with the syllables on the forehead, waist and tip, a slightly re-ordered version of the body, speech, and mind consecration, as also for the syllables on the *phur pa* blade. One *tshig rkang* is quite different in the two texts, but then again, the consecrations of wrathful ones, emanating maṇḍalas, the sounds of huṃ and phaṭ and so on, are all shared, although the *tshig rkang* are arranged a little differently. Both texts continue into the discussion of the deities on the palms of the hands and all the following mudrās and mantras. Here the *Myang 'das* becomes abbreviated for a few lines; its wording is not quite such a close parallel as that given in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (see below). With the "*su ra ta stwaṃ*" (*suratas tvaṃ*) mantra, close parallelling resumes, continuing into the next sections, again including lines where the Dunhuang text is slightly more elaborate, a single *tshig rkang* in the *Myang 'das* becoming three in the Dunhuang text (5v line 4). Then the *Myang 'das* gives a mantra not found in IOL Tib J 331.III, after which the consecration section ends with further parallel lines.

Chapter 19 of the *Myang 'das* also has two *tshig rkang* seemingly parallel to the lines concerning the syllables on the blade,[33] but its context is quite different, not even concerning a *phur pa*! This would appear to be an instance of the insertion of a stock phrase, rather than a parallel passage.

The *Phur pa bcu gnyis* also contains equivalents for a significant part of this section of IOL Tib J 331.III. The description of the deified *phur pa* corresponds to a number of lines in Chapter 11.[34] These are comparatively brief, and jump from mention of the snake ornaments to the implements held, yet it is fairly clear that the wording derives from the same source. Further down the same folio in the sDe dge edition, we have a slightly longer passage with some parallels to the Dunhuang text.[35] The five family consecration is mentioned, similarly to IOL Tib J 331.III (3v.3); the next *tshig rkang*s phrase differently the principle of seed

32 See Appendix A, where the parallel passage is given in full.

33 the sDe dge edition reads: /ngos gsum du ni hūṃ gsum gzhag /zur gsum du ni phaṭ gsum gzhag (D Volume Zha, 70v).

34 See first italicised lines in Appendix B.

35 Again, see the next section of italicised lines in Appendix B. Similarly, the following parallels discussed below are also given in italics in Appendix B.

syllables marking the various places in the body. In both texts, a single primordial wisdom consecration follows, and both refer to three syllable *hūṃ*s and the three *phaṭ*s on the *phur pa* blade. The next lines concern empowerment through wrathful ones emanating and dissolving, although they are phrased differently in the two texts, and also are more elaborated in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. The *tshig rkang* on the syllables *hūṃ* and *phaṭ* resounding is very similar.

The lines on empowerment through the males and females of the five families arising upon the two hands and uniting as the hands are joined (4v.1–2), also occur in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. The passage is a good deal more elaborated in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*: it begins with a verse in which three out of four lines are quite closely parallel,[36] after which equivalents for further lines in IOL Tib J 331.III are interspersed with additional material. Thus, while our Dunhuang text merely links the specific fingers with specific syllables arising upon them, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* makes explicit the names of the Buddhas generated from each. Nonetheless, in this case, IOL Tib J 331.III's interlineal commentary adds the appropriate Buddha family. This corresponds to the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* ordering, apart from a reversal of the associations for the final two fingers: the syllables at the ring and little fingers are said in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* to generate Amoghasiddhi and Amitābha respectively, but here, the commentator notes associations with the lotus and activity family respectively. The *Phur pa bcu gnyis* also specifies that the listed fingers refer to the right hand, and it then adds a verse concerning the female consorts arising on the fingers of the left hand.

The remaining lines then closely parallel each other in the two texts, except for a few additional or alternative lines. In both, we have the description, following the joining of the two hands, through the mudrās of various ways of holding the *phur pa*, along with the mantras and appropriate meditations on consecration through the dissolving of deities into the *phur pa*.

The *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*, a text found in the *Anuyoga* section of the NGB collections,[37] contains a parallel discussion to part of our Dunhuang text in its Chapter 10. It does not appear to be another version of an identical source – unless it has been substantially re-written – but a few mantras or key phrases follow in sequence, interspersed by some lines in which the same material is covered more briefly and largely (although not entirely) in different words. The parallels begin with the three syllables (*oṃ*, *hūṃ* and *phaṭ*) on different parts of the *phur pa* (mTshams brag edition Vol. Ba 277.4), and proceed with the *hūṃ*s and *phaṭ*s on the blade (M. Vol. Ba 277.5–6). There is then a brief summarised version of the ten deities on the fingers uniting, causing light to come forth and perform consecration (M. Vol. Ba 277.6–7). The next side continues with the buddhas of the ten directions dissolving, and the body, speech and mind consecration (M. Vol. Ba 277.7–278.2). The following mudrā and mantra run parallel, while the next mudrā is described somewhat differently, but shares what is clearly a version of the same mantra, and the third mudrā and mantra are closely parallel (M. Vol. Ba 278.2–5). The *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa* explicitly equates this sequence of three mudrās and mantras with the respective transformation of mind, speech and body into vajra.[38] The final lines of our Dunhuang consecration passage are parallelled by a similar but shorter

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[36] the sDe dge edition (Volume Pa, 217v) begins: /lag pa g.yas...

[37] This text is found in sDe dge's Volume Nya; mTshams brag's Volume Ba; and gTing skyes's Volume Da (see http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/da/2). It is most probably to be identified with the "*Phur pa'i rgyud la Khu byug rol pa*" specified (along with the *Myang 'das* and a number of other Phur pa tantras) in the list of tantras considered of dubious origin by Pho brang Zhi ba 'od in his late eleventh century polemical open letter (Karmay 1980: 18; see above, p.76 note 26). A text referred to as the, *mDo Khu byug rol pa*, is also mentioned in the *'Bum nag* (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 269; Boord: 141), as significant for codifying the teachings of the *Rig pa mchog gi rgyud Bidyotta ma la* [ie *Vidyottama la*] *'bum sde*'s vajra family chapter and a little below (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 271; Boord: 141), the *Phur pa khu byug rol pa* is also referred to as representing *Mahāyoga* in a list of various texts, each encompassing one of the nine yānas. It is quite possible that both of these references are intended to indicate our NGB text.

[38] This is implied in our other Phur pa sources but not always altogether explicit. In IOL Tib J 331.III, the interlineal commentary identifies the first two as the heart/mind and speech families respectively, but makes no such comment on the body mantra.

description of striking the *phur pa* with mustard seeds and frankincense and making offerings (M. Vol. Ba 278.5–279.1).

The *Guhyasamāja*'s Chapter 14 has a set of three mantras,[39] together with meditations and mudrās for striking and transfixing body, speech and mind with the *phur bu*. These mantras correspond to the set of body, speech and mind mantras which we find in IOL Tib J 331.III and in our other Phur pa sources, as mentioned above.[40] However, as far as we have seen so far within its vast literature, the context for these mantras in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition would seem to vary between ritual stabbing and destruction[41] and consecrating,[42] whereas in the Phur pa texts, their significance is more consistently in their activity of consecrating body, speech and mind, especially in the context of consecration of the material *phur bu*. As far as we have seen so far, it would appear that only the mantras are shared, rather than any of the mudrās or other words or explanations. Most of the Phur pa texts considered here present a sequence of mind, speech and body, rather than body, speech and mind as found in the *Guhyasamāja* texts we have looked at so far.[43] Although the versions of the mantras vary somewhat in our Phur pa texts, they also share some variants lacking in the *Guhyasamāja* sources we have consulted, such as the addition of *satwa* in the mind consecration mantra.

A further interesting permutation of these shared mantras is that a version of the body consecration mantra becomes in many Phur pa sources the mantra for the principal deity's main consort, 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma. We find, "*ōṃ ha na ha na tib ta tsa kra hūṃ phaṭ*", in IOL Tib J 331 (5v.1), and "*oṃ dīpta tsa kra ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ*" (or a close variant) in the important *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*, immediately following the main deity's root mantra (see Boord 2002: 80), and in many texts following the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*. It is commented upon clearly by Kong sprul as signifying the female consort.[44] It is found extensively in the Phur pa tradition; the Sa skya tradition in particular invariably give it as a separate mantra following that of the male deity.[45] Grags pa rgyal mtshan explains how it is through the mantra called, Dīptacakra, that the consort is generated.[46]

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39 (1) oṃ tshin da tshin da ha na ha na da ha da ha dīpta badzra tsakra hūṃ phaṭ (oṃ chindha chindha hana hana daha daha dīptavajracakra hūṃ phaṭ) (2) oṃ hriḥ bhur bhu baḥ (oṃ hrīḥ bhūr bhuvaḥ) (3) oṃ badzra rā dza hūṃ (oṃ vajra rāja hūṃ). Each with some slight variants, these mantras and their activities are discussed in Chapter 14 of many *Guhyasamāja* commentaries – the commentary chapters often correspond to the Root Tantra chapters – see for example the Karmapa sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur*, Volume Ha, 267–9; Ti, 51; Pi, 132; Wi, 51. The Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* manuscript's (IOL Tib J 438) versions of the mantras are given on folio 55r.1–55v.1; see below, Chapter 9, p.177-179.

40 A brief version of the mantras and their significance is found also in IOL Tib J 754, Section 7; see Chapter 7, p.138, 143 below, and also Mayer and Cantwell 1994: 58–9.

41 See, for instance, the Sanskrit and English translation of the passage in Candrakirti's *Pradīpoddyotana*, given in Boord 2002: 39–44. The root text's own wording (see below, Chapter 9, p.177-179) also gives the impression that suppression and a liberative rite, involving transformation in death, is at issue.

42 See for example the sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur* Vol. Ji's *Upadeśaniścayanāmaśrīguhyasamājavṛtti* (*dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa man ngag gtan la dbab pa zhes bya ba*), Chapter 14, page 69ff in the Karmapa edition, where consecration is the theme.

43 IOL Tib J 754 also has them in the order of body, speech and mind, however. Moreover, the versions given in IOL Tib J 754 are rather closer to the *Guhyasamāja* versions. See Chapter 7, p.138, 143 below, and Mayer and Cantwell 1994: 58.

44 yum gyi bskyed gzhi'i gsang sngags/ dīpta tsa kra ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ/ (101.1)

45 Examples range from the most minimal *sGrub thabs Nges don thig le* (found in the *sGrub thabs kun btus* vol Pa, p.167.5), to the *Sa skya Phur chen* 47.6.

46 yum bskyed pa ni lus dang grib ma'i tshul te/ dībtā tsa kra zhes pa'i sngags brjod pa dang/ (p.178, 360r.6 [= 6r of this text, *rDo rje Phur pa'i mNgon par rtogs pa*]). The mantra is given in the *las byang* Ritual Manual which follows (*Phur pa'i las byang* p.182; 367v.4).

The consecration through the five families by the arising of the male and female deities on the hands and their unification when the hands are brought together, found as we have seen in the NGB texts discussed above[47] and in IOL Tib J 331.III, also corresponds to rituals outlined in other Dunhuang texts.

PT 44 is concluded with a passage which alludes to a variation of the rite,[48] although there is no explicit indication that its purpose is consecration. In this case, the right hand has a moon maṇḍala arising from the syllable "*a*" and the left hand has a sun maṇḍala arising from "*ma*", thus reversing the positioning we find in the texts described above (and later tradition). Moreover, the five male herukas do not appear to be matched by five females, but we clearly have the germ of the rite found in IOL Tib J 331.III and the NGB sources.

Similarly, in PT 349, another Dunhuang text explicitly concerning Phur pa rites,[49] we again witness the moon maṇḍala on the right and the sun on the left. In this instance, the focus is exclusively on the ten male and ten female wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*).

The existence of clearly parallel lines on the sun and moon consecration between IOL Tib J 331.III, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and the other two NGB texts, together with the hints relating to the practice found in Pelliot Tibétain 44 and 349 (as well as other NGB scriptures), is evidence that these ritual traditions were of significance in the genesis and early development of the Phur pa traditions in Tibet.[50] Such rites remain a part of the contemporary Phur pa scriptural tradition, and versions of the passage have also entered the extant commentarial texts and practice liturgies.

The influential *'Bum nag*[51] contains a section on "empowering through the five families".[52] It briefly describes a visualisation of the five lords upon suns arising from the syllable *ma* on the right-hand fingers, the five consorts upon moon maṇḍalas arising from the syllable *a* on the left-hand fingers, and the bodhicitta produced by their union dissolving into and empowering the "supreme son" (*phur pa*).[53] It then cites the *gSang rgyud* in elaboration. The first verse mentions the generation of Samantabhadra and Samantabhadrī on the right and left palms; the second verse lists the five Buddhas appearing at the five right-hand fingers, the ordering corresponding with that given in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (see above). Finally, the third verse

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47 Another NGB Phur pa text we have examined, the *rDo rje khros pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, also contains some apparent reference to this practice, although the mention is brief, not a precise parallel, and the sDe dge edition does not read in the same way. Based on the MGTRNK readings, the lines translate: "Meditate on the maṇḍalas of sun and moon on the palms of your hands, And raising it [ie the *phur bu*] in the hands, rotate it as well; The suffering of the three worlds will be liberated." (/mthil [MG 'thil] la nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor bsgom/ /lag tu blangs te dril nas kyang/ /khams gsum sdug bsngal bsgral bar 'gyur/) [Chapter 6: M Vol. Ji 195v–196r; G Vol. Ji 175; T Vol. Sha 73r–v; R Vol. Sha 68r; N Vol. Sa 81v; K Vol. Sa 90r; see Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 256.] It is quite likely that other Phur pa tantras in the collection may contain further parallels.

48 see Chapter 4 above, p.55, 66-67.

49 see Chapter 8, p.157 below, and Mayer 2004.

50 A similar meditation is found in the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 8 on consecrations, and this may well be related to these *phur pa* consecrations, but in the *Guhyagarbha*, there is no mention of a *phur bu* held between the hands. The meditation is purely on the male and female seed syllables arising on sun and moon discs respectfully, and uniting together, giving rise to primordial wisdom emanations (*gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 175–178; T Vol. Pha: 24–7).

51 This Phur pa commentary (already noted above for its references to various aspects of the material considered here) has had a major impact on all the Phur pa practice traditions. It is extensively cited in later Phur pa commentaries, the categories it uses to structure its exposition of the practice – whether or not they were original – is followed in later texts, and tellingly, the passages it cites from root tantric texts are often precisely the passages quoted in later commentaries, in some cases sharing the *'Bum nag*'s readings of those passages in contrast to the readings found in the source texts, or at least, in the current extant versions of those source texts. (Cantwell and Mayer [2007: Chapter 2.V] demonstrates this process in some detail.)

52 rigs lngas dbang bskur (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 354; Boord: 197).

53 g.yas kyi sor mo lnga la ma las nyi ma'i steng du rigs lnga/ g.yon gyi sor mo lnga la a las zla ba'i dal steng du yum lnga yab yum sbyor ba mdzad/ byang sems sras mchog la thim pas dbang bskur ro/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 354.1–2)

describes that the empowerment is effected through the union of the "wisdom" and "means", slightly intertwining the fingers and rolling the *phur pa*.[54]

Mag gsar's commentary also gives some discussion of this aspect of consecration. Most of his long consecrations section (2003: 167–267) is devoted to the development of the sādhana practice, that is, the consecration of oneself as the deity, but he begins with the ritual articles needed for the practice, giving special attention (2003: 168–170) to the practice *phur ba*. Again, there is the feature of the fingers of the two hands, the letter *ma* producing sun discs above which the five male syllables arise on the right-hand fingers, and moon discs with the female seeds arising on the left-hand fingers.[55] The fingers are intertwined with a meditation on the males and females uniting, the *phur ba* is rolled, and consecrated by a stream of white and red bodhicitta from their union. Further mudrās and mantras follow, not identical but with some similarities to the description in IOL Tib J 331.III, 5r.

The *Sa skya Phur chen*, which is the text for the major full-length Phur pa sādhana in the Sa skya pa tradition, includes the meditation both in its preliminary ritual for making the boundaries for the practice, and then later, within its section on generating the material *phur pa* deities. Here too, the recitation uses different phrasing from the lines in IOL Tib J 331.III,[56] yet it shares details, such as some of those relating to the seed syllables and mantras. It begins (4r.5) with a meditation on the syllable, *ma*, together with a sun maṇḍala on the right hand, and the syllable, *a*, with the moon maṇḍala on the left hand, above which the syllables *hūṃ* and *āḥ* respectively arise, becoming a vajra and lotus. Ten seed syllables are then given, representing those for the five Buddhas and their consorts, arising at each of the fingers. With "*samaya stwaṃ*" (*samayas tvaṃ*), the palms are joined and the deities are enjoined to unite. They are meditated upon as doing so with, "*badzra anydza li hūṃ*" (*vajra añjali hūṃ*), and become become completely bound together and unified with, "*badzra bandha*" (*vajra bandha*). Finally, with "*badzra anydza li dzaḥ*" (*vajra añjali jaḥ*), little wrathful ones are produced by the union, and dissolve into the *hūṃ* and *āḥ* syllables on the hands.

It is clear that the rite has its variants, yet equally, that they have much in common, preserving the flavour and even some of the specific details of the versions given in our IOL Tib J 331.III and the NGB texts.

(iii) The perfection of recitation

As with the consecration section, the entire passage on recitation is paralleled in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, in the opening to its Chapter 11 (M Vol. Chi: 1037.2–6), but Mag gsar (2003: 267–287), who uses this tantric source for his commentary based on the seven perfections, focuses instead on intensive

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[54] gsang rgyud las/ lag g.yas mthil du nyi dkyil la/ /kun bzang 'od dang bcas pa bskyed/ /g.yon gyi a las zla dkyil du/ /kun tu bzang mo a las bskyed/ /gung mo rnam par snang mdzad de/ /mthe bong la ni mi bskyod pa/ /mdzub mo rin chen 'byung ldan no/ /srin lag don yod grub pa ste/ /mthe'u chung snang ba mtha' yas so/ /g.yon pa lnga la yum lnga 'o/ /thabs dang shes rab snyoms 'jug dus/ /sor mo cung zad bsnol bar bya/ /phur pa 'dril bar bya ba yin/ /ces dbang bskur ro/ / (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 354.3–5)

[55] Part of the passage reads as follows: rang nyid rdo rje gzhon nur gsal ba'i lag pa g.yas kyi sor mo lnga la ma lnga dang ma sūrya maṇḍala zhes brjod pa'i/ rkyen gyis nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor la/ oṃ hūṃ swā āṃ hāḥ las rigs lnga yab lnga dang/ g.yon gyi sor mo lnga la/ a tsaṇḍa maṇḍa la brjod pa'i rkyen gyis zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la muṃ lāṃ māṃ pāṃ tāṃ las rigs lnga yab yum lngar gyur/ de nas shes rab kyi rang bzhin g.yon gyis phur ba blangs te/ oṃ badzra anydza li hūṃ: zhes sor mo bsnol bas rigs lnga yab yum sbyor ba mdzad par gyur/ badzra bhan ha a be sha ya a āḥ zhes brjod pas rigs lnga yab yum gyi sbyor mtshams nas byang chub kyi sems dkar dmar gyi rgyun babs pa phur ba la thim pas sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs rje'i nus rtsal rdzogs par gyur par bsam la phur ba 'gril lo/ (2003: 169)

[56] ma sūrya maṇḍalā/ a tsanda maṇḍalā/ zhes brjod pas/ rang gi lag mthil g.yas g.yon du nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor re re/ de dag gi steng du hūṃ dang āḥ las rdo rje dang padma/ g.yas g.yon gyi sor mo la oṃ hūṃ swā āḥ hā sāṃ māṃ lāṃ bāṃ hāṃ las rnam par snang mdzad/ mi bskyod pa/ rin chen 'byung ldan/ 'od dpag med/ don yod grub pa/ kun tu bzang mo/ ma mā kī/ spyan ma/ gos dkar mo/ sgrol ma rnams su gyur/ par bsam la/ sa ma ya stwāṃ/ zhes brjod cing thal mo sbyar bas snyoms par 'jug par bskul/ badzra anydza li hūṃ/ zhes dang/ rdo rje thal mos rjes su zhugs/ badzra bandha dang/ rdo rje bsdams pas phan tshun ro gcig tu gyur/ badzra anydza li dzaḥ zhes brjod pas/ yab yum bcu'i sbyor mtshams nas khro chung mtshon cha thogs pa mang po byung ste/ lag mthil gyi hūṃ dang āḥ la thim/ (4r.5–4v.3)

practice of the mantra recitation sections of sādhana texts, in similar fashion to other Phur pa commentaries.[57] We have not found exact parallel passages elsewhere, but the themes of generating a wrathful one from the seed syllable in the heart, bringing benefit and accomplishing destructive goals, with a final dissolution, would seem common enough themes throughout the Phur pa corpus. In one case, it is quite likely that some similar lines to those opening this section might originally derive from the same source. Following its parallel passage to the consecrations section mentioned above, the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*'s Chapter 10 (M Vol. Ba: 279.1–2) has three *tshig rkang* which would seem to continue its parallelling into the beginning of this recitation section.[58] However, its meditation continues in a quite different vein after this.

In some ways, the comment given at the beginning of the recitation section does not seem entirely appropropriate in suggesting that the section concerns the Approach practice (*bsnyen pa*), implying a focus on a mantra for self-accomplishment as the deity.[59] In fact, the mantra given suggests destructive activity, and it is only at the end of the section that the text notes that the session may culminate in an Approach, with a dissolution into the heart. However, the main root mantra for the deity in the Phur pa tradition, which is used for the self-generation deity practice rather than for destructive ritual purposes, also preserves words suggesting the destruction of obstacles, so one needs to be cautious in assumptions about the usage of mantras. In this case, the section is too terse to be certain quite what is implied.

(iv) The perfection of activities

There are two substantial cases of parallel text for this section. First, again, the section is paralleled in full in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (M Vol Chi: 1038.1–1044.1). However, just as in the case of the consecrations and recitation sections, Mag gsar's commentary (2003: 287 ff) does not use this source but employs the heading to discuss material found more typically in the later Phur pa commentarial literature, in this case, subsidiary rituals which are performed following and dependent on the main sādhana practice sessions, such as the *gaṇacakra* rite (Tibetan *tshogs kyi 'khor lo*).

Second, as mentioned above, a good deal of the activities section, from 8v to 10v, runs in parallel to a substantial passage in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis'*s Chapter 14, supplemented by the mantras corresponding to the mudrās described, which are found in Chapter 13 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. As in the case of the consecrations section, although the passage contains lines which clearly betray an origin in common with our text, it is not such a close word-for-word parallel as the text within the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, containing some different phrasing, re-ordering, omission and elaboration.

The mantra for the stabbing rite is described in IOL Tib J 331.III (8r.4–5), the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis'*s Chapter 13 and again in Ch. 20, as the Vajra Claw (*rDo rje sder mo*) mantra. It is a variant of a mantra found in the *Guhyasamāja's* Chapter 14: *oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīla vajradhara ājñāpayati sarvavighnānāṃ kāyavākcittavajraṃ kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ*.[60] This mantra has had a long and varied career in Vajrayāna literature, and appears in a variety of traditions beyond the *Guhyasamāja*, for example in the Yoginī traditions of Vajravārāhī. It is found in several Dunhuang Phur pa texts for the culmination of the *sgrol ba* rite, as we shall see (see below, Ch. 7, p.140, 144 and Ch. 8, p.161). The interlinear notes of the Dunhuang

[57] His discussion of different meditative techniques (p. 268 ff), for instance, uses a classification based on analogies – the mantra as a revolving firebrand, as like destroying a beehive, or as a blacksmith producing sparks – which occurs elsewhere (for instance, the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*, *The Collected Works of H H bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*, Volume Da: 119–122).

[58] In the mTshams brag edition: /bdag nyid dang por rnal 'byor te/ /snying khar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor la/ /mthing nag 'bar ba'i hūṃ bsgoms te/ (M Vol. Ba: 279.1–2)

[59] It is always possible that the commentator is using the term *bsnyen pa* in a rather general way, simply to refer to intensive mantra recitation practice, rather than the more specific connotation of the Generation Stage (*bskyed rim*) practice of familiarisation with the deity identified with oneself.

[60] See below, Ch. 9 p.174-175 for the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja*'s version of the mantra (IOL Tib J 438: 54r.5).

Guhyasamāja (IOL Tib J 438: 54r.5) also clearly identify it as the mantra of rDo rje sder mo, but it is not altogether clear in the *Guhyasamāja* or in these Dunhuang sources that rDo rje sder mo represents anything more than the mantra's name (the vajra claw mantra). So far as we can gather, the name is not now quite so well known in contemporary *Guhyasamāja* scholarship as it is in the context of an independent deity frequently practised by dGe lugs pa and rNying ma pa alike – for example, there are popular *gter ma* texts for her by mChog gling and others. rDo rje sder mo thus seems to be a very old Buddhist protective karmaḍākinī goddess with an independent existence, whose mantra became incorporated into various other tantric cycles over time.[61] In the Phur pa tradition, rDo rje sder mo is one of the principal female wrathful ones in the immediate retinue of the central deity.[62] rDo rje sder mo's Sanskrit name remains unclear.[63] It is interesting that the version of the mantra in IOL Tib J 331.III gives a line at the beginning ("na ma sa man ta ka ya bag tsi ta badzra nan"), which is not found in other Dunhuang versions of the mantra (such as those in IOL Tib J 754 or PT 349).[64] In *Guhyasamāja* sources, a similar phrase may be present preceding the mantra but apparently not as part of the mantra itself.[65]

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[61] Ven Changling Rinpoche (personal communication, November 2006) drew our attention to this. We have since found practices to her, which may follow a standard *Mahāyoga* style of deity generation practice with a mantra section including the "*gha gha ghātaya*..." mantra (eg. *Zab bdun cha lag las kyi mkha' 'gro rdo rje sder mo'i rgyun khyer rdo rje'i go cha*, Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che *bKa' 'bum*, Volume Ta: 263r–265v; see also the *Zab bdun cha lag las kyi mkha' 'gro rdo rje sder mo'i rgyun khyer rdo rje'i go cha ldeb*, as found in mChog gyur gling pa (1829–1870) 1982, vol. Ba: 381–384.). More significantly in terms of suggesting the antiquity of rDo rje sder mo's own tradition of practice, we have seen an English translation of "The Dharani of Glorious Vajra Claws" (translated by Joan Nicell with the help of Ven. Geshe Jampa Gyatso, 1996, reprinted 2000, Istituto Lama Tzong Khapa, Pomaia, Italy). This is almost certainly a translation of the title, "*dpal rdo rje sder mo'i gzungs*", which is listed three times in the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) online Index to the Kawaguchi Ekai Collection of Tibetan Literature (http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/Database/kawaguchi_titles.html), and it is noted as a *bKa' 'gyur* text on two of those occasions (classified within *mdo mang*, within Indian Buddhist Scriptures). Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate the text in either of the *bKa' 'gyur* catalogues available to us, Skorupski 1985, and the Otani University Peking Tripitaka Online Search (http://web.otani.ac.jp/cri/twrp/tibdate/Peking_online_search.html), nor in browsing of the sTog Palace and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur*s. Nonetheless, it is quite clear from the English version that it is in much the same style as other *dhāraṇī* texts for averting negative phenomena, of which we find many examples amongst the Dunhuang tantric manuscripts. It first details the beneficial results of reciting it, and this is followed by a series of prostrations. It then gives long lists of the evil forces to be vanquished, and these are punctuated by eleven repetitions of the "*gha gha ghātaya*..." mantra. Simon Cook (personal communication, February 2007) has told us that one context for its recitation would be to remove obstacles to one's monastery. Especially interestingly in view of the mantra's integration into *phur pa* rites, it has some passages in common with the *dhāraṇī* for gDugs dkar (see below, Ch.11 p.203-206), both in one of the lists of evils to be destroyed (given in a slightly different order, but recognisably based on the same source), and in some phrases repeated before the mantra, which contain the element, "phur bus gdab bo", "the *phur bu* strikes".

[62] See, for instance, the *Myang 'das* (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 196, 209, 211), the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*, and the *'Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 81, 188). In fact, the virtually standard list of this retinue of ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) and their consorts as given in the Phur pa tradition occurs also in Chapters 12 and 13 of the Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary (IOL Tib J 321), in which they are described as the immediate retinue of the *Thabs zhags*' root text's wrathful nine-headed heruka deity. However, rDo rje sder mo is missing from the *Thabs zhags manuscript*'s list, almost certainly as the result of a scribal omission, so she is quite likely to have been present in an earlier edition of the text (she is given in the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* edition of the *Thabs zhags* commentary, Volume Bu, p. 285).

[63] The sources considered here do not give any Sanskrit name. A possible reconstruction might suggest *Vajranakhī. In her incarnation as one of the principal ten female wrathful deities of the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala, she is addressed in her mantra as, "badzra kro dhī tā tā" (*Myang 'das*, Ch. 20 [Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 207]; the *Sa skya phur chen* 18v.2; A myes zhabs 310.5), and in the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* as, "badzra kro dhī tī tā ru" (note that Boord [2002: 81] queries this, suggesting that "tīkṣṇanakha" would be the appropriate meaning). But clearly, this context of her role as Nīladaṇḍa's consort is quite different from that in the *sgrol ba* rite which we find in the texts here. "The Dharani of Glorious Vajra Claws" (see note 61 above) gives the Sanskrit title as, "Shrih Vajra Ratiru Nama Dharani". If a *bKa' 'gyur dhāraṇī* text does come to light, then perhaps her name will be clarified by its version of the Sanskrit title.

[64] It is, however, found in the Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che practice (*bKa' 'bum*, Volume Ta: 265r.1), and also in, "The Dharani of Glorious Vajra Claws" (see note 61 above).

[65] See Boord's translation of verses from the *Guhyasamāja* tantra with Candrakīrti's commentary as given in his *Pradīpoddyotana* (Boord 2002: 34). The Dunhuang manuscript of the *Guhyasamāja* root text does not give this transliterated Sanskrit in this place (IOL Tib J 438: 54r.4–5), and nor does the mTshams brag NGB edition (Volume Tsha, p.861.4).

Apart from these clear parallels, most of the rituals described in this section in IOL Tib J 331.III have their equivalents in numerous other Tibetan Buddhist tantric texts, and it is not always clear that a passage with similar text must derive from the same ultimate source. Some of the items listed for making the effigy, for instance, occur widely, and are mentioned in similar terms in the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 13 and 19, and in the *Shwa na dkar nag gi rgyud*'s Chapter 4. A single line which may simply indicate the use of a kind of stock phrase for describing that the positioning of the triangular container for the effigy occurs in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 9 (see Chapter 6, p. 110 note 125 below).

(v–viii) The perfections of time, place, and oneself

As mentioned above, these short closing sections have similarities with discussions in other Phur pa texts,[66] but we have only found exactly parallel passages for them in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (M Vol. Chi: 1030–1031) and in the case of the sections on place and oneself, also in Mag gsar (2003: 164). Following the section ordering of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, Mag gsar opens his discussion of the first perfection of oneself, the practitioner, by elaborating on the full scriptural citation with which he concludes. He speaks of diligently accomplishing bodhicitta for the benefit of others and hearing many teachings, skill in drawing the maṇḍala and so on, the receipt of full empowerment and familiarisation with the deity, unshakeable faith in both the lama and the instructions, unchanging application, not putting hopes on future times or on any benefits or results other than those of the deity, one's root and branch samayas undegenerated, and needing to be endowed with the qualities of the seven perfections.[67] In short, his section on the practitioner is focused solely on this same passage found in IOL Tib J 331.III. While his short section on timing has nothing in common with our Dunhuang text, his passage on the place (164–7) begins with the short scriptural citation of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s lines, which is then expanded upon with other scriptural and commentarial material.

The order of the presentation

It is not possible to be certain whether the ordering of the *phun sum tshogs pa* given in IOL Tib J 331.III or that found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* represents the original ordering. On the basis of these two versions found in the two available sources we have, there is certainly no text critical evidence which would prove the primacy of one version over the other, so we can only provide some speculative reflections on the basis of the content itself. The second list given in IOL Tib J 331.III might seem redundant, doing little more that repeating the first list in full. However, the presentation in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* might also seem a little surprising. That the second list changes the order of the first might suggest that the first list possibly represents an original or earlier order. This would also fit with a rationale of using the list for a structured presentation of the teachings. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s second list suggests a far more logical sequence, in which one begins with the qualities needed in the practitioner, the appropriate time and place, before embarking on the major sections of the performance of the practice itself. It would seem rather more probable that the order as found in IOL Tib J 331.III might have been amended in the second list to create this more obvious structure, than that the reverse re-arrangement was made, although it is nonetheless conceivable that a text editor might have re-ordered the

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[66] The *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 3 and the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 17 both contain discussions of the qualities of the practitioner, which are similar to the points made here, but these passages relate to quite general required features, such as having faith (*dad pa*) and being knowledgable (*mkhas pa*), and there is nothing distinctive which might suggest a shared source, nor any specific phrasings in common. The *rDo rje khros pa* includes a close parallel to one line on the perfection of the place in its Chapter 7, especially if we accept that IOL Tib J. 331's *gdon* may be an error for *gnod* found in the parallel in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (M Vol. Chi 1031.3–4) and in Mag gsar (2003: 164). The *rDo rje khros pa* gives: /*rkang gcig* pa'am rkang gnyis pa/ /*gnod par nges pa*'i sa de ru/ (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 259, italicised words parallel).

[67] /dang po sgrub pa po bdag nyid gzhan phan byang chub kyi sems dang ldan pa'i sgrub pa la brtson pa mang du thos pa'i yon tan dang ldan pa'i dkyil 'khor bri ba la sogs las la mkhas pa/ dbang rnam par dag pa thob cing lha bsnyen pas nye bar gyur pa'am 'gyur rung du byas la/ bla ma dang gdams ngag la mi phyed pa'i dad pa brtan po thob pa/ brtson 'grus 'gyur ba med pa dang ldan pa/ phan yon 'bras bu lha las gzhan dang phyi dus su mi re ba/ rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig ma nyams pa ste/ yon tan phum [sic] sum tshogs pa bdun dang ldan dgos te/ (Mag gsar 2003: 164)

arrangement to create a consistency between the two lists. We are left with a balance of probability perhaps slightly more weighted to the side of IOL Tib J 331.III's ordering representing an earlier tradition.

The significance of the widely shared passages of parallel text

Perhaps the most striking feature of the textual content of IOL Tib J 331.III is the substantial shared passages of text between this manuscript and Phur pa tantras in the NGB, which we have discussed. There is no doubt that the material has a common source, although in parts, one of our texts may paraphrase, summarise or elaborate on the other version. Interestingly, apart from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, which in effect shares the entire text, a shifting passage may not always correspond neatly to a specific topic in both texts, but may, for instance, span the ending of one topic and beginning of another in the alternative version. There are also the mantras in common with the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, one of which, the important mantra to be used at the culmination of the rite in which the *phur bu* strikes the effigy, may have come ultimately from the *dPal rdo rje sder mo'i gzungs*. As with our previous analysis of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (Mayer 1996), we are reminded of the Lévi-Straussian technical term, 'bricolage'.[68] It is not always certain how far the inclusion of specific material may indicate deliberate selection or reworking, and how far accidental loss of text may have played a part, although this Dunhuang text, and the corresponding sections in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, give the impression of being carefully constructed on the basis of the outline given at the beginning. Beyond this specific case, studying Dunhuang texts may help us also to appreciate the construction of the rNying ma tantras. Whether the Dunhuang manuscripts drew on early versions of these tantras, whether the rNying ma tantras incorporated and re-embedded selections of tantric materials found elsewhere, or whether both these processes were at work, comparative studies may help us to understand both sources.

[68] This morally neutral anthropological technical term seems rather curiously to have been misunderstood by David Seyfort Ruegg as insulting and derogatory (Seyfort Ruegg 2001: 739). On the contrary, Lévi-Strauss's coinage (1976: 16 ff) was warm, affectionate and playful, as well as insightful.

6 IOL Tib J 331.III: The Text

Note archaisms used:

Virtually all the *gi gu* are reversed (all apart from *phyir* 1v.1, ni 6r.4, two instances of *phyir* 8r.3, and *ni* 11v.1). Note that *phyir* 1v, ni 6r and 11v are in the main text, *phyir* 8r in the interlineal commentary.

la stsogs for *la sogs* (*phun sum tshogs pa* is given consistently, but *tshogs* is also given in other Dunhuang manuscripts so perhaps this was often spelt in conformity with later spelling convention); *rin po ce* (and *ce* for *che* in other words also); *pa'* for *pa*; *myi*/*mye* for *mi*/*me*; *'phral ba* for *dpral ba*; buddha is transliterated, *'bu ta* (4v).

Every folio has two string holes to thread the pages together, positioned halfway down the sheet, one to the left and one to the right of the centre of the page. Around each hole a red circular line is drawn, within which nothing is written, so the writing continues both sides of each circle, sometimes breaking in the middle of a word.

(1r.1)[1] (From upper left, small writing:)

$/ //spyI de bzhIn gshegs pa thams chad thugs rje 'I dbang gIs sems can zhI bas myI 'dul ba 'I drag pa 'I las bya bar bstan/ (extended ornamental shad)

[This] teaches about performing the wrathful ritual activities with the compassionate power [of] all the tathāgatas universally for those sentient beings who cannot be tamed through pacifying.

(Larger writing starts:)

$/ /zhI ba 'I mchog 'pho ba 'I 'phrIn las bsdus pa 'o/

This is the Supreme Pacification, the Concise Enlightened Activity of Transference (or: This is the Concise Enlightened Activity which [effects] Transference [into] the Supreme Peace).

(Above the *tshig rkang* below; just below and to the right of the first comment, small writing:)

dur khrod kyI bgegs ma tang ka ru tra lta bu

[For?] the charnel ground obstacles like Matang ka Rudra

[2]/shIn du khro zhIng gtum ba la/

For the extremely wrathful and furious,

(small writing below:)

de bzhIn gshegs pa 'I mdzad spyod ston

the tathāgatas' engagement in activities is demonstrated

/zhI bas phan bar myI 'gyur te

no benefit comes by pacifying [them];

(small writing below:)

chos [za?]b[3] mo bshad pa la stsogs pa'

explaining the profound Dharma and so forth

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1 The folio numbering is given in the left-hand margin: gcig. Here, the main text is given in a large sized font and the annotations are given in a small font.

2 This verse has a precise parallel which we find in several NGB texts. It is found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* 's Chapter 8 (M Vol. Chi 1023.4–5), beginning the long parallelling with this text (see Chapter 5 p.68 note 3 above). It occurs in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 7, which is the chapter on the taming of Rudra (D Vol. Pa 206r–v: /shin tu khros shing gtum par 'gyur/ /zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te/ /shes rab thabs su sbyor mdzad pa/ /khro bor de bzhin gshegs kun mdzad/). It is also found in Chapter 3 of the *Myang 'das*, the chapter which sets the scene for the detailed account of the taming of Rudra in Chapter 4. In the *Myang 'das*, a close parallel to the first line (in D Vol. Zha 47v.1–2: shin tu khro drag gtum par 'gyur) is followed some lines below (D Vol. Zha 47v.6–7) with: /shin tu gdug cing gtum pa la/ /zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te/ /shes rab thabs kyi ngo bo las/ /khro bor de bzhin gshegs kun mdzad/

3 letter za almost rubbed from the page.

(small writing above, presumably indicating "one [is wisdom], two [is means]":)
ka kha
(1r.2) /shes rab ththabs su sbyor ba yIs/
through conjoining wisdom and means,

(small writing above, with what appears to be broken bracketing around and above this *tshig rkang*, presumably indicating that it comments on the writing below, not above:)
drag po 'I las brtsam ba 'I dgos ched bstan
[this] demonstrates the necessity for commencing destructive activities.
/khro bor de bzhIn gshegs kun mdzad/
all the tathāgatas act wrathfully.

/hūṃ khro la khros pa 'I rgyal po yIs/ /
Hūṃ Through the king of wrathfulness towards wrath,
(small writing below:)
he ru ka 'I [rang?][4] bzhIn bstan / (extended ornamental shad) khro bo gang yang rung ba la bya
The heruka's nature is demonstrated.
[He has] the capability of every kind of wrathful one.

(1r.3) khro bo nye bar zhI mdzad pa/
the wrathful one[s] are fully pacified;

/khro zhI che la phyag 'tshal te/ / (extended ornamental shad)
Prostrating to the Great Wrathful [and] Peaceful [One],
(small writing below:)
ka kha
("ka kha" here presumably indicating, both wrathful and peaceful)

(small writing above, with what appears to be broken bracketing around and above this *tshig rkang*, presumably indicating that it comments on the writing below, not above.)
bsgrub pa pos sngon du bya ba 'I las bstan
The preliminary actions to be performed by the practitioner are demonstrated.
(small writing following after a gap, apparently following on, although not within the bracketing[5])
phyag 'tshal ba 'a
[You] should prostrate.
[6]/tshad myed snyIng rje bskyed pa dang/
generating limitless compassion and
(small writing below:)
kun rdzob dang byang chub kyI sems la phan 'dogs don dam pa 'I byang chub kyI sems rnam gnyIs dang ldan/ (extended ornamental shad)
Endowed with two aspects, to bring benefit with bodhicitta conventionally [and] ultimate bodhicitta.

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4 the syllable, rang, has been almost entirely rubbed from the page.

5 this part of the comment, written outside the bracket, may in fact be intended to attach to the end of the comment under the final *tshig rkang* in line 2. It could make sense in that position, although this would seem less natural than its placement here.

6 A parallel for the next twelve *tshig rkang* is given in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 8 (D Vol. Pa 212v): /las kyi dkyil 'khor dam pa ni/ /dang po tshad med snying rje bskyed/ /byang chub sems la dga' ba ni/ /sngon du 'gro ba'i lam mchog yin/ /sgrub [K bsgrub] pa pos ni nan tan bya/ /khrag 'thung thugs la [M thugs su; TRK thugsu] gnas pa ni/ /ye shes rtse mo mchog yin te [K ste]/ /hūṃ gsum [K 'sum] las ni 'das [K bzlas] pa'i phyir/ /rtse mo med pa'i las [TR lus] su bstan/ /'di [MTRK de] ni gzugs [D gzug, followed by a lacuna for one letter; M gzung] dang byin rlob [M rlabs; TRK brlabs] dang/ /bzlas brjod dang ni 'phrin [D phrin] las dang/ /dus dang gnas dang bdag nyid dang/ /phun sum [K gsum] tshogs pa bdun po yis [R yin]/ /las gang bsgrub [D sgrub; K 'grub] pa 'grub [M grub] par byed/

/byang chub sems (1r.4) la dga' ba nI/
rejoicing in the bodhicitta,
(small writing below:)
don dam pa 'I byang chub kyI[7] sems
Ultimate bodhicitta

/sngon du 'gro ba 'I [~~la~~]mchog[8] yIn te/
is the most supreme of foundations,

(small writing above, with broken bracketing around and above this *tshig rkang*, presumably indicating that it comments on the writing below, not above:)
byang chub kyI sems rnam gnyIs dang 'og nas 'byung ba 'I snyIng po
The two aspects of bodhicitta and from below, the essence [syllable] of origination.
/bsgrub pa pos nI nan tan bya/ / (extended ornamental shad)
[in which] the practitioner should earnestly strive.
(small writing below:)
phyag rgya dang tIng nge 'dzIn rnam gsum/
The mudrās and the three samādhis

[9]/khrag 'thung thugs (1v.1) su gnas pa nI/
[That which] abides in the blood-drinker['s] heart,[10]
(small writing below 1r.4:)
he ru ka thugs kyI phur pa 'I rang bzhIn
the true nature of the heruka heart Phur pa

/ye shes rtse mo mchog nyId de/
is identical with the supreme pinnacle [of] primordial wisdom;
(small writing below:)
chos kyI dbyIngs rnam par dag pa 'I ye shes
the totally pure primordial wisdom dharmadhātu

/hūṃ gsum las nI 'das pa 'I phyir/
since the three-fold hūṃ (or: the three hūṃs,)[11] transcends activities,[12]

[7] this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *kyI* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *sems*.

[8] it seems that initially, "lam" was written here; the *la* has been deleted, rubbed from the page, while the *ma* has been retained as the prefix for *mchog*. There is some evidence that an original *shad* following the prefixed *ma* has also been rubbed out.

[9] Here, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s Chapter 8 starts again to parallel the text, following a passage which does not resemble any of our content here. From this point, the remainder of the text – in a slightly different order – is contained in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s Chapters 8 to 11, with little added material apart from bridging passages which introduce and conclude each section.

[10] The parallel passage in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* – at least in mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions, which end the line with *'di*, although sDe dge shares Tib J 331.III's reading of *ni* – might seem to suggest a reading of, "This abiding in the blood-drinker's heart" (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1028.7). This would make equally good sense of the Tibetan of this line, although perhaps would not fit entirely comfortably with the lines above in this case! However, in both passages, the idea of abiding in the heruka's heart quite possibly relates to the threefold hūṃ, discussed below, which is presumably intended to be visualised in the heart. An alternative translation of the line would be: "The blood-drinker dwelling in the heart". Again, this could also apply in the case of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* passage, although it would not seem satisfactory since the verse there follows a discussion of self-identification with "the Glorious Kīlaya King".

[11] This might refer to three *hūṃ*s, but is rather more likely to indicate a three-fold *hūṃ*. The syllable is made up of the letter *ha*, the *ū* and the *ṃ*; these elements are discussed in many tantric sources. The first Vajrasattva text above (IOL Tib J 331 I: 1v), refers to different parts of the syllable, *hūṃ*, associating them with the various emotional defilements. There too the interlineal comments refer to [buddha] body, speech and mind.

(small writing below:)
sku gsung thugs kyang thugs tsam du
even [buddha] body speech and mind [are] only [buddha] mind

/rtse mo myed pa 'I las su (1v.2) bstan/ / (extended ornamental shad)
(it) is taught as the activity with no pinnacle.
(small writing below:)
mdo rgyas pa 'a
as [in] the extensive sūtra

/de nI gzugs dang byIn rlabs dang/
[For] this [there are]: the form and consecration and

/bzlas brjod dang nI 'phrIn las dang/
recitation and enlightened activity and

/dus dang gnas dang bdag nyId dang/ /
time and place and oneself;

(1v.3) phun sum tshogs pa bdun po yIs/ /
the seven perfections, through which
(small writing below:)
de bdun dang ldan ~~bar bya~~[13] nas
it having become endowed with the seven

btab na cI 'dod sbyIn no zhes/
when striking, it is said that whatever [one] wishes will be granted.

/dam tshIg bdag pos rab gsung te/ /
[This] is well taught by the Samaya Lord;
(small writing below:)
rdo rje sems pas sngon/
by Vajrasattva previously

(1v.4) 'das na lha yang brlag pa 'I phyIr/
for even a deity will be destroyed if [they] transgress,
(small writing below:)
de las 'das bzhIn du las ma grub na
in accordance with the transgression, should activities be unaccomplished

/rang gI bka' las rang myI 'da'/
[so he him]self does not transgress [his] own precepts.
(small writing below:)
lha dam tshIg las 'das na lhar ma rung brdzun po cher 'gyur bas
if the deity transgresses samaya, [he would] become a great liar unsuitable [to be] a deity

---

12 Here, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (M Vol. Chi, 1028.7) gives *bzlas* for *'das*, suggesting a reading of, "on account of the recitation activities of the three-fold hūṃ...".

13 slightly uncertain; there are small markings above "bar bya", which are presumably intended to indicate deletion.

/de la phun sum tshogs pa nI bdun du bstan te//
Regarding these perfections, taught as sevenfold:
(small writing below:)
rgyas pa'I
in detail

(1v.5) gzugs phun sum tshogs pa dang/
the perfection [of] form, and

/byIn rlabs phun sum tshogs pa dang/
perfection [of] consecrations, and

/bzlas brjod phun sum tshogs pa dang/
perfection [of] recitation, and

/'phrIn las (2r.1)[14] $/ /phun sum tshogs pa dang/
perfection [of] enlightened activity, and

/dus phun tshogs pa dang/
perfection [of] time, and

/gnas phun sum tshogs pa dang/
perfection [of] place, and

/bdag nyId phun sum tshogs pa 'o/ / (extended ornamental shad) /
perfection [of] oneself.

(2r.2) /de la gzugs nI thugs kyI phyag rgya 'I dbyIbs la bya ste/
For the [perfection of] form: [it] should be rendered in the shape of the [enlightened] heart mudrā:

/skabs 'dIr lcags sam/
on this occasion, [make it from] iron, or
(small writing below:)
drag po 'I phur pa 'I skabs 'dIr
For the occasion of the wrathful *phur pa*,

/lcags lnga 'am/
five [types of] iron/metal or
(small writing below:)
gnam lcags khro chu myI spro thung ba 'I mtshon [sdur(/rdur)][15] ma srog chags[16]
meteoric iron, molten [iron], [from?] a weapon of [an] aggressive man, *sdur*/*rdur ma* (???)[17]

---

[14] The numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: gnyis.
[15] this would seem to be *sdur* or *rdur*; the *du* is consistent with the writing of *du* in other parts of the text, although *sngur* would be a further possibility.
[16] this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *chags* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *bsad*.
[17] sdur ma: uncertain meaning. One possibility is that *thur ma* (needle/stick/spade) might be intended but this seems rather unlikely, and it would not itself be altogether clear. *sDur blang* or *sdur len* can mean amber.

seng [~~lda~~][18] ldeng la stsogs pa
sandalwood etc.,

(2r.3) tsher ma can gyI shIng la/
thorny wood, out [of which],
(small writing below:)
bsad pa 'I mtshon cha dum bu lnga 'o
[and?] fragments [from?] a weapon which has killed beings makes five[19]

/sor brgyad dam sor bcu gnyIs par byas la/
[you] make [the *phur pa*] eight inches or twelve inches, and

/mgo mjug ma nor par shIng gI (2r.4) rtsa ba logs su mgo byas la/
without muddling the top [and] the bottom, make the head towards (or: guide it in line with) the roots of the wood, and

/sor gcIg la rgya mdud/
[make] the knot one inch [in size].

/rked par sor gcIg la rgya mdud/
At the waist [is another] one inch knot;

/stod zur brgyad smad zur (2r.5) gsum du byas la/
the upper [part] has eight facets (or: is octagonal), the lower is made with [a] three-sided [blade], and
(small writing below:)
rIn po ce 'bru brgyad lta bur 'dug ste spyI [r?]phur[20] bu[21] rIn po ce 'I rIgs yIn bar bshad
since [this] is like eight jewel granules, it is explained as the general *phur bu* [of] the jewel family[22]

/rI rab ltar brjId par 'dug pa nI gzugs phun sum tshogs pa 'o/ / (extended ornamental shad)
being imposing like Mount Meru,[23] [it] is the perfection of form.

---

[18] the syllable deleted here – most probably dittographically written *lda*, has been rubbed from the sheet.

[19] only the first two categories are completely clear here. Interestingly, this list has a clear parallel with that of the five types of iron/metal in the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 8 (D Vol. Zha 54v.1). There we find meteoric iron (*gnam lcags*), iron mined from the ground (*sa lcags*), molten iron (*khro chu*), the tip of a weapon which has killed a human or horse (*mi rta bsad pa'i mtshon rtse*) and common iron (*phal pa'i lcags*). In Chapter 13, the five are again referred to (D Vol. Zha 61r), but not listed. Here, the main puzzle is with *sdur ma* (see p. 92 note 17 above). Chapter 10 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (D Vol. Pa 215v) also lists the five types, but the list appears to be quite different! Nonetheless, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* comparison is also interesting in specifying materials for making a *kīla* as ideally to be taken from weapons such as knives and arrowheads, as well as from meteors or thunderbolts, and to have qualities of cutting, sharpness, and hardness etc. It is also possible that the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* advocates the use of iron from an arrowhead that has pierced a person's heart, but the text is corrupt at that point, and the meaning ambiguous (D Vol. Pa folio 216r; T Vol. Dza p. 106).

[20] it is possible that the unclear *ra* is intended to be positioned before the *tsheg* in front, ie. *spyir*.

[21] this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *bu* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *rin*.

[22] it is not clear whether this comment really clarifies the sense here. The idea of the 8 facets as of a jewel is consistent with the widely found imagery of the 8 facetted jewel (*rin chen zur brgyad*) of the tantric deity's heart *cakra*, yet this has nothing to do with the deity's buddha family, and it is not clear why this *phur bu* should specifically indicate the jewel family.

[23] See the discussion of the Mount Meru imagery, Chapter 2 p.16-17, 22-25 above.

(The next section is on the perfection of consecrations)

(2r.5) /dang po kho na stong pa nyId du byIn kyIs
(2v.1) brlabs te/
First, [having] simply consecrated [it] in emptiness,
(small writing below:)
bdag dang phur bu dang chos kun
oneself and the *phur bu* and all phenomena

/chos kyI skur byIn kyIs brlab pa dang/
(it) is consecrated as the dharmakāya, and
(small writing below:)
~~badzra he ru ka yum khro tI shwa rI~~[24]
~~Vajra Heruka, [and his] consort Krodhīśvarī~~

/de 'I steng du rgya mdud gzhal yas khang du dmyIgs te/ /
upon it, visualising the knot as the Immeasurable Palace,
(small writing below:)
phur bu 'dI nyId nI rI rab tsam la de 'I steng na pho brang rgya che ba 'a
The *phur bu* itself is as big as Meru,[25] and above it is the vast palace;

(2v.2) phyogs bzhI dbus dang lngar hūṃ sgrIl ma lnga bzhag ste/
at the four directions and the centre, making five, five concentrated[26] hūṃs are established;
(small writing below:)
ma las nyI ma 'I dkyIl 'khor du gyur pa 'I dbus su
from [the syllable] ma, transformed into a sun maṇḍala, in the centre

/dbus su he ru ka/
in the centre [is] Heruka,
(small writing below:)
badzra he ru ka yum kro dhI shwa rI
Vajra Heruka, [and his] consort Krodhīśvarī;

/shar du khams sum rnam par rgyal ba/ /
[27]in the east [is] Trailokyavijaya,

---

[24] this comment occurs on the line below; almost certainly, it was written in the wrong place and crossed through when the error was noticed. This provides evidence strengthening the possibility that the annotations (or at least some of them) were copied over from a source manuscript. It is far more likely that such a positioning error would be the result of a copying process with little attention to the content of the text and/or the comment, than the possibility that the writer was composing a comment in response to the text, yet inadvertently wrote it under the wrong section of text.

[25] See p.93 note 23 above.

[26] sgril ma. We find the phrase, "hūṃ sgril ma" (concentrated/unified/condensed/rolled up hūṃ), elsewhere. In this Dunhuang manuscript, the text above (IOL Tib J 331. II, 4r), which is not a Phur pa text and probably not originally found in an immediately preceding position to this text, also has "hūṃ sgril ma", describing the syllable hūṃ after the body, speech and mind consecrations are dissolved. A perhaps closer parallel usage to that here is in the section on making the boundaries in the Sa skya *Phur chen* (4.2), where we have a concentrated/rolled up *hūṃ* giving rise to mantra syllables and effecting a transformation into the vajra form. The word "sgril ma" in the *Phur chen* is commented on in A myes zhabs (189.2), as bsgril ba/bsgril ma (note that the MT *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* editions give bsgril and D gives sgril). Grags pa rgyal mtshan's elaboration (in his *rdo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa*) of what is clearly the same practice, presents a *hūṃ* emerging from the deity, becoming unified with a *hūṃ* in the sky, and then dividing and dissolving again. In this case, the term, "sgril ma" is not used, but the word "sbrel ma" occurs in the corresponding place, describing the unification of the *hūṃ*s. It would thus seem that "concentrated", "unified" or "condensed" is the most appropriate sense of the term "sgril ma" in this context.

(small writing below:)
hūṃ las tra log kya bI dza ya ma ha kro dhe shwa rI hūṃ zhes brjod pas 'phro 'dur gyur las de nas skur gyur gzhan kun yang de dang 'dra 'o
from [a syllable] hūṃ [comes the mantra] trailokyavijaya mahākrodhīśvarī hūṃ; through reciting this, [it] comes to radiate and reabsorb [light rays]; then it transforms into the [buddha] body; and all the other [deities] are also similar to this (ie. in the way they arise).

(2v.3) lhor gshIn rje gshed/
in the south [is] Yamāntaka,
(small writing below:)
ya man ta krId badzra kro dha hūṃ
yamāntakṛt vajrakrodha hūṃ

/nub du rta 'grIn/
in the west [is] Hayagrīva,
(small writing below:)
ha ya grI ba badzra kro dha hūṃ
hayagrīva vajrakrodha hūṃ

/byang du stobs po ce/
in the north [is] Mahābala,
(small writing below:)
ma ha pa la badzra kro dha hūṃ
mahābala vajrakrodha hūṃ

/'dI rnams so so 'I snyIng po dran {b}tsam[28]
(2v.4) gyIs bskul la/
[they] are enjoined, by appropriately remembering the essence [mantra] of each of them, and
(small writing below:)
skur gyur pa las
having become [buddha] body

/gzungs dang gnyIs su myed pa/
non-dual with their *dhāraṇīs*,[29]

/mchod pa yang 'khor rgyas par dmyIgs pa 'o/
[you] meditate on offerings and the extended retinue beyond.[30]

---

27 The four deities listed here as arising in the four directions correspond to four of the standard list of the *khro bo bcu*, the 10 Wrathful Ones who form the immediate retinue of the Phur pa deity in the traditional cycles of practice on Phur pa as a *yi dam* deity (the positions and names of these deities tend to be reasonably constant across different Phur pa texts, even if their appearances and hand implements might vary). In the case of the second and third given here, they are situated in the appropriate direction associated with the *khro bo bcu* deities of the same names. Trailokyavijaya is generally situated in the north-eastern direction, although Vijaya is usually in the east. Mahābala/stobs chen is generally associated not with the north, as given here, but with the below direction.

28 prefixed *ba* inserted below line, with attention drawn to it by a cross above the line. There is no *tsheg* given after it, but *ba tsam* would also be a possibility: "by merely remembering...". This would also be consistent with the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading of "ba tsam" (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.3).

29 Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives "gzugs" for "gzungs" (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.3), so that the sense would be, "non-dual with the (*phur pa*) form". This would make good sense: since we do not know in which direction the movement of text went, nor whether either text has a scribal error here, we are not in a position to judge which is the earlier reading.

/phyI nang gI mchod pa
(2v.5) cI 'byor pa phul te/
Offering whatever outer and inner offerings have been collected,
(small writing below:)
phyI nang gI mchod pa 'I lha mo dang lcags[31] kyu la stsogs pa sgo bzhI kun
the outer and inner offering goddesses with the iron hook etc., [at] all four doors

/dam tshIg rjes su bskul nas/
having enjoined [the deities], following the samaya,
(small writing below:)
mchod pa rnam lnga dang bdud rtsI lnga
the five offerings and the five amṛtas

/gnyIs su myed pa 'I rgyan rdzogs par mdzad pa nI/ /
[this] embellishment of non-duality is perfected;[32]

(3r.1)[33] $/ /longs spyod rdzogs pa 'I skur byIn kyIs brlabs[34] pa 'o/
[this] is the consecration as the sambhogakāya.

(small writing above:)
bsgrub pa pos bcol pa 'I las 'dI grub bar mdzod cIg par bsgo
The practitioner commands that [they] should act to accomplish the activity which is entrusted [to them][35]
/ (extended ornamental shad) /de las sras phur bu 'I ngo bor skyes pa nI/
From this, [it] is born as the Son [which is] the essence of Phur bu,[36]

---

30 Note that the sense of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.3–4) is slightly different here, giving 'khod pa dang/ for /mchod pa yang, linking the 'khod pa to the line above: "established in non-duality...". MT also give *rgyas btab* for *rgyas*, suggesting that the retinue is sealed, rather than that the retinue is extensive, but this may be a scribal error. mTshams brag's text for this and the above line is: "gzugs dang gnyis su med par 'khod pa dang/ 'khor ba rgyas btab par dmigs te" (D: 'khor rgyas for 'khor ba rgyas btab).

31 this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *lcags* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *kyu*.

32 the sense here is not entirely certain. The idea of ornamentation or embellishment is often linked to offerings, and taking the line in this sense would seem to fit with the commentator's note above on the appropriate samaya offerings. However, a rather different sense might be intended: having enjoined [the deities] in accordance with samaya (ie. as samaya forms), [they] (ie. the deities) are perfected [as] non-dual ornaments (ie. as primordial wisdom forms). The same slight ambiguity is found in the *Myang 'das*'s parallel verse (D Vol. Zha 56r). Either understanding would fit with the notion of a sambhogakāya consecration. In the first case, the emphasis would be on the visualisation of the offerings embellishing the deities; in the second, on the visualised forms and their ultimate nature.

33 The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: gsum.

34 final sa is inserted beneath the line, with a cross above the line marking the place for the insertion.

35 this would not appear to be a very appropriate comment here! It may be that it is in fact intended to fit with the words which occur at the same position along the page on the final line of the sheet above (beginning "gnyis su myed..."). If so, it might seem surprising that the scribe did not write it in the ample space beneath that line. One possible explanation is that the scribe might have copied from a source in which the two lines were not on different sheets and the comment was seemingly attached to the line below. Generally in this manuscript, the interlineal comments are posititioned below the line, although there are a few instances (in sections other than the consecrations section) where comments are written above. Here again, the relatively strong possibility that a copying error was made here would strengthen the likelihood that the annotations were copied from a previous manuscript.

36 Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.5) gives a slightly different reading here: *de la sras phur pa khro bor bskyed pa ni*; on this basis, [it] is generated as the Son Phur pa Wrathful One.

(small writing below:)
he ru ka 'I thugs ka 'I hūṃng[37] las
from hūṃ at the heart of the heruka

[38]/lte ba man chad[39] mthIng nag
(3r.2) la/
dark blue below[40] the waist, upon [which]

/dbu kham pa gyen du 'greng ba 'a/
[his] reddish-brown head [of hair?][41] is standing up on end.

/brang gIs 'gro ba chen po dang/
Great snake[s] and

/thod rlon gyIs b[~~sha(/zha)~~]cIngs[42] shIng bzhags pa'/
fresh skulls coil around and beautify[43] [him].

/spyan gsum
(3r.3) sdang dmyIg du dgrad de/
[His] three eyes are staring, in an angry expression,

/phyag g.yon pa 'I phur pa la gzIgs pa'/
looking at the *phur pa* in [his] left hand,

/mche ba gtsIgs pa dur khrod kyI mye dpung gI
(3r.4) nang na/
baring [his] fangs; [he is] within a mass [of] cremation flames.

/lte ba man chad lcags kyI phur pa zur gsum pa/
Below the waist, [is] a three sided iron *phur pa*,

/e 'I nang du sum ca tsam nub pa la/
as much as a third [of which] is descending/disappearing into the "e".[44]

---

[37] Here the scribe seems to have added both the *ṃ* and the final *nga*; clearly, *huṃ* or *hung* is intended.

[38] Note that the description given here (and in the parallel passages in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, the *Myang 'das* and in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*) is similar to that found in *Guhyasamāja* commentaries, such as the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* and the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛttiratnāvalī* (see below, Appendix to Ch. 8, p.162-163; also, Mayer 2004: 158–9).

[39] It is most likely that *man chad* is in error, and *yan chad* – which is found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.5) is intended.

[40] See note above; the probable intended meaning is, "dark blue *above*".

[41] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.5) gives *dbu skra kham pa*: probably, there is an omission of the syllable *skra* here. Moreover, both the versions of this line in the *Myang 'das* and in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* give "ral pa" in place of "dbu". It would seem that a description of the hair is in any case the most likely connotation.

[42] the deleted syllable *sha* or *zha* (which has been rubbed from the sheet), occurring between the prefixed *ba* and main letter *ca*, was probably an error (the eye moving to *shing* or *bzhags*) which was noticed and corrected straight away. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.6) gives bcings.

[43] bzhags: *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (2434), "(rnying) gzhags pa'am gzhabs pa'ang zer/ brgyan pa'am mdzes pa/". The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1032.6) gives *bzhad*.

[44] descending/disappearing into the "e": the sense here is slightly uncertain. Nub pa usually has the meaning of declining/setting, which could suggest here the image of the bottom third not being visible. "E" would indicate the *phur khung*, the triangular

(small writing below:)
chos nyId yum gyI mkha'I rang bzhIn te yum lta bur gyur pa nI dgos pa 'I ye shes te rnam par myI rtog pa 'I[45] chos nyId la bya
The elemental state is the very nature of the yum's space,[46] coming to resemble the yum; this is the necessary primordial wisdom, within the non-discursive elemental state.

/phyag bzhI pa ste g.yas pa 'I
(3r.5) gong ma sta re kha yar bstan te ltag pas rdeg par bya ste/
[Having] four arms, the upper right [hand] exhibits an axe above [the level of?] the face, and strikes with the back [of the axe];

/'og ma la rdo rje rI rab kyIs gnon pa 'I thabs su 'dzIn pa 'a/ /
the lower [hand] grasps the vajra Mount Meru, in the manner of suppressing.
(small writing below:)
phur des mnan pas sus kyang myI phyIn ba 'I don
This means [that] by suppressing with this *phur*[*pa*], whoever [is the object, they will] not [be able to] leave.

(3v.1) g.yon dang po rdo rje kha twang ka dkrol zhIng bdud kyI kham sum 'jIg pa/
The first left [hand] shakes/plays with[47] a vajra *khaṭvāṅga*, destroying the three realms of māras;
(small writing below:)
myI mgo la sIl snyan byas pa
playing cymbals with? the human head[s],[48]

/'og ma la phur pa zur gsum pa 'debs pa 'I thabs su gzIgs[49]
(3v.2) shIng ngan song gsum 'jIg pa/
the lower [hand holds] a three-sided *phur pa*, in the manner of striking, gazing at and destroying the three lower realms,

/stobs dang mthu dpung la stsogs pa 'a/
/khro bo thams chad 'dus pa bas kyang lhag par che ba gcIg 'og du
(3v.3) phyung ste/

---

shaped ritual stand or container in which the *phur pa* is inserted so as to stand upright. It is symbolically equated with the female genitals and the *chos 'byung* ("*source of dharmas*"). We have "sum cha nub nas" in the *Myang 'das* parallel lines.

45 this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *pa 'i* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *chos*.

46 'Space' is a euphemism for the female deities' private parts or their wombs. Here, the comment would seem to refer to the unification of primordial wisdom with the elemental state, expressed by the (male) *phur pa* inserted within the (female) "e" ritual stand.

47 the meaning of *dkrol* here is not entirely unambiguous: see following note. It could be that a double meaning is intended.

48 The beginning of this comment is written close to the word *dkrol* and presumably elaborates on it: it can mean playing/ringing/resounding a musical instrument such as a bell or cymbals. It is also possible that the verb *dkrol* in the text may carry the sense of letting loose, releasing, perhaps suggesting the releasing/liberation of beings. The main meaning of *dkrol* here, however, is most probably to resound, reverberate or to make music; the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1033.2), as well as all editions of the *Myang 'das*, have *'khrol*, which would seem to make this more likely, since this is its primary meaning (although it can also be a form of *'grol*). Karma Phuntsho (personal communication, 20/8/2007) has commented to us that the verb, *dkrol*, is particularly used for musical instruments where shaking movements are involved, so there might be a metaphorical sense implied, that the *khaṭvāṅga* is held and waved in a playful manner, like the dancing Śiva does. A *khaṭvāṅga* may have pendants with attached bells and *ḍamaru*s (see Plate 115 and 116 in Beer 1999: 255, 257). The human skulls mentioned in the comment might suggest an attached drum made of human skulls. Alternatively, the "la" may indicate *at* the heads, and might perhaps refer to bells/*ḍamaru*s/cymbals attached to or at the heads. A further possibility is that this comment might refer to the reverberation of the human heads/skulls of the *khaṭvāṅga* itself.

49 Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1033.2) reads *gzas*, which gives a rather clearer meaning: "brandishing (it) as though as to strike".

sending out below masses of inherent and magical powers etc., even greater than a whole assembly [of] wrathful ones, so

/rtag pa chen por bstan pa 'dI nI sprul pa 'I skur byIn kyIs brlabs pa 'o/
this teaching on the [*phur pa's*] great permanence/eternity is the consecration as the nirmāṇakāya.

/de la rIgs lngar byIn kyIs brlab par bya ste/ /
On this basis, performing the consecration as the five [buddha] families,

(3v.4) 'bru lnga gnas lngar byIn kyIs brlabs pa 'o/
the five seeds at the five places are consecrated.

/de nas sku gsung thugs su byIn kyIs brlab par bya ste/
Then, performing the consecration as [buddha] body, speech [and] mind,
(small writing below:)
rIgs lnga dang sku gsung thugs gnyI gas[50] byIn kyIs brlabs na yang bzang gang yang[51] rung ba gcIg byas na yang rung/ (extended ornamental shad)
[It is] fine whether the five families and the [buddha] body, speech [and] mind consecrations [are] both performed, or either one is [also] suitable;

/spyI gtsug du ō[52]/ /
[the syllable] ō is meditated on at the crown of the head,
(small writing below:)
ōṃ dkar po lte bar bsam
meditate on a white ōṃ[53] at the centre/navel,[54]

(3v.5) rked par hrI/
hri at the waist,

/rtse mor phat bsam mo/
[and] phat at the point [of the *phur pa*?].[55]
(small writing below:)
āṃ[56] dmar po lce hung sngon po snyIng ga s[w?]a ser po 'phral bar ha ljang ku rkad[57] par bsam
meditate on a red āṃ [at the] tongue,[58] blue hung [at the] heart, yellow swa [at the] forehead,[59] [and] a green ha at the foot/waist (?).[60]

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50 *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (978): gnyi ga = gnyis ka (archaic)
51 final *nga* subscribed.
52 *a chung* subscribed; most probably, ōṃ is intended. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* parallel text gives oṃ (M and T) or ōṃ (D).
53 See discussion above, p.72 note 13, on the persistence of the usage of the long syllable, *ōṃ*.
54 "lte ba" would usually indicate the navel, but it may be here that the centre of the crown of the head is the intended sense here. An alternative, perhaps more likely, possibility is that navel was intended, but that the words *lte ba* and *'phral ba* (= *dpral ba*, forehead) below (see note 59 below) have been transposed. This would fit neatly with the tradition's associations of the five seed syllables with the body centres (see, for instance, *bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Vol. Da 82.1–2), and also with the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 (D Vol. Pa 217r), but of course, we do need to exercise caution in reading early sources and not assume uniformity!
55 We have a parallel to this in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, where the kīlas of the 5 families are generated, and consecrated as buddha body, speech and mind, with *oṃ* meditated on at the crown, *hrīḥ* at the waist, and *phaṭ* at the tip (24r.2–3).
56 there is a very *slight* uncertainty here; āṃ is most likely, and consistent with our first text's association of *āṃ* with the mouth (see Chapter 5 p.70-71 note 11). However, there is a very short horizontal line over the letter "a" which *just* possibly might be intended to represent a *na ro*, in which case, the syllable would be *ōṃ*.
57 sic. = rkang or rked?

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de 'I 'og du thugs kyI ye shes rtse gcIg par byIn kyIs brlabs te/
[61]Following this, [the *phur pa*?] is consecrated in the single-pointed heart primordial wisdom.
(small writing below:)
dpal chen po 'I thugs [~~ye shes~~?] rnam par myI rtog pa 'I ye shes
the Great Glorious [One]'s heart, non-discursive primordial wisdom

/zur gsum du
(4r.1)[62] $/ /phaṭ gsum/
At the three edges [of the blade?] three [syllable] phaṭs,
(small writing below, written beneath phaṭ and gsum respectively:)

	gsung	thugs
[buddha]	speech	mind

/ngos gsum du hūṃ gsum gzhag go/
[and] at the three sides three hūṃs are placed.
(small writing below:)
hūng gsum las 'das par 'ong pa'
from the three hūṃs will come to transcendence (or: will come to transcend the three hūṃs)

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas sku rtas[63] pa dang/
Then, the [buddha] body becomes extensive/protected[64] and,

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58 there is some *slight* uncertainty in meaning here: it is just possible that the *hung* is meant to be at the tongue, and then the *swa* would be at the heart etc., but this seems unlikely, given that it would then be unclear where the *āṃ* should be, and the reference to *rkad/rked/rkang pa* at the end would seem odd!

59 'phral ba: archaic for *dpral ba*, forehead (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 1792). It is possible that *lte ba*, navel, is the intended word here, and that *lte ba* given above and *'phral ba* here have been transposed (see note 54 above). Another possibility is that we have a scribal error here: that *phyal ba*, belly, is intended.

60 This is uncertain. A scribal error of *da* for *nga* (*rkang par*) is a strong possibility. In PT 42 (f.46.1–2), we find yellow *ōṃ* at the crown of the head, red *āṃ* at the mouth, white *hum* at the heart, blue *swa* at the waist and green *ha* at the sole[s] of the foot/feet. Interestingly, the *Khu byug rol pa*'s Chapter 10 (M Vol. Ba: 277) also gives *rked pa* [waist] for the fourth place, but *yan lag* (limb[s]) for the fifth, which nonetheless might fit with this reading of foot/feet here. However, reading *rkad par* as *rked par*, at the waist, would have the advantage that the alternative spelling preserves the pronunciation, and it also fits with the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 (D Vol. Pa, 217r), where sDe dge gives, *sked pa*. In terms of what became the standard associations, we might expect to find the private parts (*gsang ba* or *gsang gnas*) in this position (see, for instance, *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Vol. Da 82.3).

61 This line, and the point below concerning the three *hūṃ*s and three *phaṭ*s has a parallel in the *'Bum nag* (Boord 196), which simply quotes "the tantra". But it may be that the *gSang rgyud* is intended, since this is quoted a little above. Interestingly, in this case the positioning of the *hūṃ*s and *phaṭ*s is the reverse of that in our text here. The *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition of the *'Bum nag* gives: "sras mchog 'di yang sku gsung thugs ye shes rtse gcig tu byin gyis brlabs te/ dbal gyi zur gsum hūṃ gsum/ logs gsum du phaṭ gsum/ rtse mo la a dkar po zhig bsam ste/ rgyud las/ logs la phaṭ gsum bzhag pa yin/ /zur gsum hūṃ gsum gzhag pa yin/ /zhes so/" The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* parallel text, as well as the *Myang 'das* parallel passage in its Chapter 9 and the parallel lines in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 agree with the positioning in the text here, and differ from the *'Bum nag*. This would also appear to be the case with the differently worded *tshig rkang* on the subject in the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*. It gives "/hūṃ gsum dang ni phaṭ gsum gyis/ /ngos gsum dang ni zur gsum la/" (mTshams brag edition Volume Ba: 277).

62 The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: bzhi.

63 It is possible that *rtas* here may be an error for *brtag*, the reading which is found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1034.2).

64 rtas pa: = brtas pa, pft. of brta ba. However, see note above on possible scribal error.

(small writing below:)
gong du gzhal myed khang [phub(/phrab)][65] pa 'I nang na bzhugs pa 'I khro bo yab yum bcu po
above, the ten yab yum wrathful ones abide within the protective covering (uncertain) [of] the Immeasurable Palace.

/rIgs so so 'I khro bo thams chad kyIs byIn kyIs brlab
(4r.2) cIng dbang bskur bar bya ste/
the consecrations and empowerments [of] all the wrathful ones of the various families are to be performed and,

/khro bo 'I dkyIl 'khor de dag nyId phyogs bcur 'phros te/
the maṇḍalas of these same wrathful ones are emanated in the ten directions, and

/slar 'dus nas hūṃ hūṃ dang[66] phat phaṭ kyI sgra 'byIn cIng/ /
having once again merged together, the sounds of hūṃ hūṃ and phat phaṭ are emitted.

(4r.3) de nyId sku la bstIms te dbang[67] dang byIn rlabs thams chad kyIs bcIn par bya 'o/
These too dissolving into the [buddha] form, all the powers and consecrations should be received.[68]
(small writing below:)
khro bo mang po[69] phur pa la thIm ba 'I don[70]
this means that many wrathful ones are dissolving into the *phur pa*

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas 'gro ba 'I don la gshegs na dphyogs bcu
(4r.4) 'I bde bar gshegs pa thams chad kyIs kyang/
Then, coming for the benefit of beings, all the sugatas of the ten directions,
(small writing below:)
sprul pa 'I khro bo 'byung ba nyId bsgrub pa pos bsam ba thams chad sgrub pa 'I phyIr gshegs[71] pa la 'gro[72] ba 'I don ces bya 'o
coming in order for the practitioner to accomplish all wishes, this very arising of the emanated wrathful ones is said to be [for] the benefit of beings.

/stong grogs[73] mdzad cIng sngon zhal gyIs bzhes pa lags pas/
since formerly [they] verily promised to act as allies,

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65 phub: this is slightly uncertain, although probable given the upward curve which is more consistent with *zhabs kyu* in this manuscript than with attached *ra*. *Phub* would also make more sense than *phrab*, if we take *phub pa* (from *'bubs pa*) as indicating the protective covering of the Immeasurable Palace. Just possibly here, *phrab* = *khrab* (armour/shield)?

66 dang inserted beneath line with a cross above the line marking the place

67 dbang inserted beneath line with a cross above the line marking the place

68 received: guesswork here, purely from the context, though we are uncertain what word might have been intended. We have *bcIn*, possibly = *'byin*, or *phyin*? It is also possible that the reading *bcing*, found in the mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1034.4), was intended. This could be translated, "[the *phur pa*] should be bound up with all the powers and consecrations". The sDe dge edition gives, *tshim*, "[the *phur pa*] should be satiated with...").

69 mang po is written beneath: its positioning is indicated by a cross above the line before *phur*

70 "thim ba 'i don" is placed under the "bcin par bya", while the first part of the comment is placed under the "sku la bstims".

71 this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *gshegs* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *pa*.

72 there is some very slight uncertainty here over the attached *ra*: it does not resemble many of the attached *ra*s previously given in this manuscript, although it is consistent with a number of instances of *khro* in the notes and it does clearly resemble the *gra* in the word *grangs*, which occurs in a comment 5v line 5. It can also be guessed from the context.

73 presumably (and in the case below) for *stongs grogs*, which is found in the mTshams brag edition of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1034.5), although not in sDe dge or gTing skyes (which agree with *stong grogs*).

/de 'I stong grogs mdzad cIng
(4r.5) de 'I sku la 'jug pa dang/
acting as this [*phur pa's*] allies, [they] enter into this [buddha] form and
(small writing below:)
phur pa 'I khro bo thIm ba'[74]
Phur pa wrathful ones dissolve

/bdag nyId kyang bdag nyId chen po yIn bas/
since even you yourself are the great lord,
(small writing below:)
sngags mkhan dpal chen po'I[75]
the mantra practitioner the great glorious one

/phur pa yang bdag nyId chen por dbang bskur zhIng/
so, in order to empower and consecrate the *phur pa* also as the great lord,

/byIn kyIs brlab
(4v.1) pa 'I phyIr/

/lag mthIl g.yas par ma las nyI 'I dkyIl 'khor du gyur pa 'I steng du hūṃ/
meditate that [the syllable] ma [is] in the palm [of] the right hand, transforming into a sun maṇḍala, with hūṃ above,
(small writing below:)
'dI man chad nI tIng nge 'dzIn gyIs byIn kyIs brlab par 'chad byang chub kyI sems rdo rje 'I don
From this point, [this] is explained as consecrating through samādhi... [this] means the bodhicitta vajra[76]

/g.yon pa 'I lag par ta las zla ba 'I dkyIl
(4v.2) 'khor du gyur pa 'I steng du a bsams la/
[and the syllable] ta [is] in the left hand, transforming into a moon maṇḍala, with [the syllable] a above, and
(small writing below:)
nI shes rab kyI rang bzhIn kun du bzang mo 'I don
for [the syllable ta], wisdom's natural expression[77] [this] means Samantabhadrī[78]

/gung mo la ōṃ/
at the middle finger [is the syllable] ōṃ,
(small writing below:)
ōṃ ste 'bu ta 'I rIgs
ōṃ is the buddha family

/mthe bo la hūṃ/
at the thumb, hūṃ,
(small writing below:)
rdo rje 'I rIgs
the vajra family

[74] the first part of the comment is below "de 'i stong grogs", and the second part is below, "'jug pa dang".
[75] the first part of the comment is below "nyid kyang", and the second part is below, "yin bas".
[76] this second part of the comment appears beneath the "gyur pa... hūṃ", presumably applying to the sun maṇḍala.
[77] comment appears beneath the "ta las zla ba 'i"
[78] comment appears beneath the "a bsams la"

/'dzub mo la traṃ/
at the forefinger, traṃ,
(small writing below:)
rIn po ce 'I rIgs
the jewel family

/srIn lag la hrI/
at the ring finger, hri,
(small writing below:)
pad ma 'I rIgs
the lotus family

/mthe'u
(4v.3) chung la [a(/ya)][79]/
at the little finger, a;
(small writing below:)
las kyI rIgs
the activity family

/'dI rnams zla ba 'I dkyIl 'khor gyI steng du bzhag ste su ra ta stwaṃ zhes brjod la/
[80]establishing these above moon maṇḍala[s],[81] and reciting, "suratas tvaṃ",

thal mo mnyam bar sbyar ro/ /
the palms [of the two hands] are joined together.

(4v.4) ōṃ badzra a 'dza' lI hūṃ zhes brjod pas sor mo cung zad bsnol lo/
Reciting, "oṃ vajra añjali hūṃ", the fingers are intertwined a little.

/ōṃ badzra bhan dha hūṃ zhes brjod pas/
Reciting, "oṃ vajra bandha hūṃ",

/sor mo rgyab du [~~la~~?] bsnol te
(4v.5) bsdam/
[the hands are] bound [together], intertwining the fingers [back to] back.

/sa ma ya stwaṃ zhes brjod la/
Reciting, "samayas tvaṃ", and
(small writing below:)
dam tshIg skongs pa zhes bya
[this] is called, restoring the samaya

79 The parallel text in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.1).gives, "ha" (D Volume Wa, 350v.7: "hā").

80 Note that in the case of the mantras rendered into approximate Sanskrit equivalents here and below, some combine Tibetan words and also unknown sounds with the Sanskrit; hence a 'correct' Sanskrit rendering is not really possible.

81 It is uncertain whether the plural is implied (in which case, each syllable would have its own disc). This would seem quite likely from the rather expanded version of the parallel text in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (mTshams brag Volume Dza, 905), or other sources, such as Mag gsar 2003: 169.

/phur pa blangs te chang ba[82] 'I nang du bcug nas/
taking the *phur pa*, putting [it] within the [closed] fist,

/lag pa 'I rtIng phye nas mthe bo gnyIs srIn lag
(5r.1)[83] $/ /dang mthe 'u chung gI bar du bcug nas/
[you] open/separate the stem[s] of the hand[s], putting [it][84] between the two thumbs, the ring finger[s] and the little finger[s], and

/mthe bos cung zad bsgul zhIng drud do/[85]
the thumbs pull[86] and move [it] a little.

/ōṃ badzra a be sha a[87] a zhes brjod pas/
Reciting, "oṃ vajra āveśa a a",

/phyogs bcu dus
(5r.2) gsum gyI bde bar gshegs pa sras dang bcas pa thams chad zhe sdang rjes su dran ba 'I sku yungs 'bru tsam bar mtshams myed par phur pa la bsdu zhIng
(5r.3) bstIm mo/
all the sugatas of the ten directions [and] the three times, together with [their] sons, mindful [of] hatred, [their buddha] bodies the size of mustard seed[s], gather without [leaving any] gaps,[88] and dissolve into the *phur pa*.
(comment appears beneath the "zhe sdang ...":) khro bo la bya
acting as wrathful ones
(comment starts beneath the "yungs 'bru ...":) sngags mkhan bdag nyId kyang yungs 'bru tsam bar mtshams myed pa mang por bstIm
also the mantra practitioner oneself dissolves into many [forms] like mustard seed[s], without [leaving any] gaps[89]

/ (extended ornamental shad) /sku gsung thugs kyI bdag po chen po nyId du rdzogs par byIn kyIs brlab cIng dbang bskur bar bya ste/
Consecrating and empowering [it] in perfecting [it] as the essential great lord of [buddha] body, speech [and] mind, and

/sor mo rgyab
(5r.4) du bsnol la/
intertwining the fingers [back] to back,

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82 presumably, = 'changs pa (Das)/changs pa (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*). The parallel text in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.3), gives *chang pa'i*.
83 The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: lnga.
84 the parallel verse in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.3) and in the *Myang 'das* adds in "*phur pa*" ("bar du phur pa"), making it clear that it is the *phur pa* being referred to here.
85 the parallel text in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.4) gives dril lo, and the *Myang 'das* gives 'dril.
86 see above note: the translation of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and *Myang 'das* versions would be *roll*, which may seem a rather clearer reading.
87 there is a clearly formed "a" here; one would expect that *ya* might be intended, but it is worth noting that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.4) shares the reading of "*a*".
88 alternatively, this may mean, "bodies gathering without [leaving any] gaps even the size of a mustard seed".
89 again, this may alternatively mean, "dissolves into many [forms which] have no gaps between [them] even the size of a mustard seed". It is also possible that the comment intends to suggest rather that the sugatas are also dissolving into oneself, although this is certainly not spelt out.

(small writing below:)
'dI yan chad sngags[90] dang phyag rgyas byIn kyIs brlab pa ston
up to this point, consecrating with mantra[s] and mudrā[s] is demonstrated

/gung mo gnyIs gshIbs te bsgreng ba 'I bar du phur pa gzung la/
(you) hold the *phur pa* between the two middle fingers [which are] positioned upright, and

/ōṃ badzra sa twa ra dzā hūṃ zhes bzlas/
recite, "oṃ vajrasattva rāja hūṃ".
(small writing below:)
thugs rdo rje rIgs kyIs
the mind/heart vajra family

/de nas sor mo [pug pug(/prag prag)]
(5r.5) por byas la/
Then, making the fingers into "pug pug po" (?)[91]

/lag pa 'I rtIng pas phur pa bzung la/
holding the *phur pa* with the base[92] of the hand[s],

/ōṃ bur bu ba phaṭ ces brjod do/
(you) recite, "oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ phaṭ".
(small writing below:)
gsung pad ma 'I rIgs kyIs
the speech lotus family

/de nas sor mo rgyab du bsnol te mthe bo gshIbs pa'I
(5v.1) chang par[93] bcug nas/
Then intertwining the fingers [back] to back, [you] put [it][94] within the [closed] hands, positioned [between?] the thumbs[95] and,

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[90] this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *sngags* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *dang*.

[91] or: prag prag po; we cannot find either of these possibilities in any dictionary. *Prag* can mean the space between objects, but this would not seem to help us greatly! Moreover, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1035.7) gives "pug pug por" (also in D and T), so this would seem most likely here. The *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 gives the reading of "phug phug po". The three groups of *rNying rgyud* editions of the *Myang 'das* agree on *phug* (R has *pug* and N *bug* for the second *phug*), although D has a marginal note giving an alternative reading, sug sug. Although "phug phug po" is not crystal clear (D's marginal note would seem to indicate the recognition of some problem), it might be related to *'bugs*/*'bigs*, rendering a meaning of, "making the fingers [as though they are?] piercing". In a parallel line in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11, D gives the reading, *thug por* for *pug pug por* (against TRK's phug por and M's sug por). This would make sense (touching), but it would seem highly unlikely that this was an earlier reading from which all our instances of *phug*/*pug*/*sug* derive! It is more likely that "*thug*" was an editorial attempt to make sense of a rather obscure word in this context. In *dbu med* sources, we are quite likely to find confusion between pa and sa, but far less likely for confusions of either of these letters with tha. In the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*'s parallel passage, which is a very differently phrased presentation of the material (although unmistakable in that, for instance, the mantras are in the same sequence), the description at this point would seem to suggest that the two hands are made into a lotus shape, with the fingers of each hand touching each other ("/lag gnyis sor mo rtse sprad de/ /padma lta bur byas pa yi/" [mTshams brag edition, Vol.Ba: 277]). It is perhaps just possible that *pug* might be for *spug*, a jewel, which would seem to fit, but a problem would still remain with the following *pug po*!

[92] Generally, *rting pa* would indicate the heel of the foot: in the case of the hands, it presumably means the base of the hands, just above the wrists.

[93] see p. 104, note 82 above.

/ōṃ ha na ha na tIb ta tsa kra hūṃ phaṭ ces brjod nas drIl te/
reciting, "oṃ hana hana dīptacakra hūṃ phaṭ",[96] [it] is rolled, and

/bdag nyId chen po thams chad gnyIs su myed pa 'I sbyor ba
(5v.2) mdzad pa 'I gzI byIn thams chad phur pa 'I sku la zhugs nas/
all the majestic powers created [by] all the great lords in non-dual union enter into the [buddha] body of the *phur pa*.
(small writing below:)
lag pa g.yas pa thabs te rIgs lnga g.yon shes rab ste yum lnga thabs dang shes rab[97] kyI bdag nyId kun sbyong [ba?][98] 'I byang chub kyI sems
the right hand being means, the five families, the left being wisdom, the five consorts, [this demonstrates] the purifying bodhicitta [of] all the [male and female] lords of means and wisdom

/stong khams gang bar mye stag 'phro zhIng dmyIgs pa thams chad nges par 'grub[99] pa'I[100]
(5v.3) byIn dang/
Sparks of fire radiate, filling the thousand-fold realms, and
(small writing below:)
khro bo 'I[101]
of wrathful ones

/dbang chen po dang ldan bar 'gyur ste/
[the *phur pa*] becomes fully consecrated and empowered to really accomplish all aspirations.

/mdun gyI nam mkha' la e gru gsum gyI gdan la bzhugs par gsol nas/
Having requested [the Phur pa deity] to abide upon the throne of the triangular "e"[102] in the space in front,

(5v.4) yungs kar gI rgyal pos brdeg cIng/
striking with the king of white mustard seeds,
(small writing below:)
'phrIn las bskul ba'
enjoining activities

/gu gul sbyar mas bdugs la/
fumigating with compounded[103] frankincense,

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[94] the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1036.1) parallel passage makes this explicit: *phur pa bcug*.
[95] the mudrā here is rather unclear?
[96] This mantra has its parallel to that in the *Guhyasamāja*'s Chapter 14 (oṃ tshin da tshin da ha na ha na da ha da ha dīpta badzra tsakra hūṃ phaṭ): eg. in the mTshams brag NGB edition, Volume Tsha p.862.6; see also the Dunhuang version, IOL Tib J 438: 55r.1 (ōṃ tshin da tshIn da/ [nga(/da?)] [...] ha na ha na dIb btātsa kra hūṃ phaṭ).
[97] this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *rab* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *kyi*.
[98] letter *ba* unclear; rubbed from the sheet.
[99] appears to have been corrected from an original *'bro ba*, with the *na ro* and *shad* rubbed from the page, and *ba* amended.
[100] pa inserted beneath line
[101] comment appears beneath the "'phro zhing".
[102] the triangular "e", symbolic of the female organ, the "*source of dharmas*" (*chos 'byung*), is represented in ritual practice as the container/stand in which the *phur pa* is inserted (see also above, p.97-98, note 44).
[103] sbyar ma: a little uncertain; *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* gives: (1) mang po kha sbyar nas bzos pa'i dngos chas, and gives examples of wood, paper, material. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives the more straightforward, *sbyar bas* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1036.4).

/phyI nang gI mchod pa thams chad dbul bar bya 'o/
all the outer [and] inner offerings should be offered.
(small writing below:)
mchod pa lnga sman lnga
the five offerings the five medicines[104]

/de nas yId la
(5v.5) brnag pa 'I 'phrIn las bcol te 'dI nI byIn kyIs brlabs pa phun sum tshogs pa 'o/
Then, entrusting the activities which have been mentally focused upon, this [completes] the perfection [of] consecrations.
(small writing below:)
las 'dI lta bu grub par mdzod cIg ces
say, "accomplish activit[ies] like this!"

/ (extended ornamental shad) /bzlas brjod phun sum tshogs pa nI/ /
The perfection of [mantra] recitation:
(small writing below:)
grangs[105] kyI bsnyen pa dang dus kyI bsnyen pa dang mtshan ma 'I bsnyen pa 'a
(this concerns) the Approach [mantra] enumeration, the Approach time period and the Approach signs.

(6r.1)[106] $/ /bdag nyId las kyI lha 'I tIng nge 'dzIn du zhugs te/
Onself entering into the samādhi of the karma deity,

/snyIng kar nyI ma 'I dkyIl 'khor la hūṃ mthIng nag cIg bzhag la/
a dark blue hūṃ is established upon a sun maṇḍala at the heart and

/ōṃ badzra kI la ya che (6r.2) ge mo zhIg ma ra ya phat ces brjod pas phur pa 'I khro bo cI 'dra ba cIg de las byung ste/
by reciting "oṃ vajrakīlaya che ge mo zhig māraya phaṭ",[107] one resembling a Phur pa wrathful one arises from it, and

/phyogs bcu thams chad sems can gyI don byas nas/ /
having brought benefit for sentient beings [throughout] all the ten directions,

(6r.3) phur pa la bstIm mo/
[he] dissolves into the *phur pa*.
(small writing below:)
phur pa 'I thugs ka nas kyang bdag la bstIm mo
from the heart of [the?] *phur pa*, [he?] also dissolves into oneself

/'dI 'dra ba 'bum 'am sum 'bum 'am/
Like this, [you recite][108] one hundred thousand or three hundred thousand or

[104] the first part of the comment appears to be linked to "phyi", and the second part to "nang".
[105] see p.101 note 72 above regarding the uncertainty of a syllable gra in "'gro ba" occurring in a comment on folio 4r line 4; this syllable gra is executed in the same way.
[106] The numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: drug.
[107] "che ge mo zhig": such and such, ie. you can slot the relevant personal name[s] in here.
[108] "recite" is explicit in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1037.5): *bzlas ba* is added following *sa ya yan chad* below.

bdun 'bum 'am/
seven hundred thousand or

sa ya yan chad byas te/
more than a million, and

bsnyen pa (6r.4) gtong bar 'dod na phur pa nyId kyang snyIng ka hūṃ la bsdus te 'dI ni [---][109] bzlas brjod phun sum tshogs pa'o/
if [you] want to perform the Approach [practice], also this Phur pa itself[110] dissolves into hūṃ [in] the heart. This is the perfection [of mantra] recitation.

/ (extended ornamental shad) /{[---]~~s~~[111] ~~phun sum tshogs pa nI/ /~~ (6r.5) ~~gnas chen po dang/ /shIng rkang cIg~~ [---]~~/~~}
(Deleted lines?:) {The .... perfection [is]
a "sacred place"[112] and a solitary tree.... } (end of apparently deleted lines)
/'phrIn las phun sum tshogs pa nI/
The perfection [of] activities:

/thog ma nyId du brtags pa 'I sa rnyed nas/ /
Having found the site which was examined right at the outset,
(small writing below:)
'debs pa 'I dus dang gnas phun sum tshogs pa'
the perfection [of] the time for striking and [of] the place[113]

(6v.1) bskrad pa dang mtshams gcad pa la stsogs pa byas te/
performing the expelling and establishing the boundaries [of the practice area] etc.,
(small writing below:)
phar tshur myI tshugs par bya ba 'I phyIr
[expelling] out so that nothing harmful [comes] back in (ie. through the boundaries)[114]

/skad cIg ma 'I tIng nge 'dzIn gyIs khro bo 'I sdang dmyIg dang/
through an instantaneous samādhi, the obstacles are expelled by the wrathful one's angry stare,
(small writing below:)
dmyIg g.yas par ma las nyI ma 'I dkyIl 'khor du gyur pa 'I dbus su khro bo mang po 'phro ba dang g.yon par ta las zla ba 'I[115] dkyIl 'khor du gyur pa la khro bo mang po 'phro ba nI sdag[116] myIg ces bya 'o
at the right eye, from [the syllable] ma comes a sun maṇḍala, in the middle of [which] many wrathful ones emanate, and at the left eye, from [the syllable] ta comes a moon maṇḍala, on [which] many wrathful ones emanate; this is called, "the angry stare"

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109 there is a word which has been deleted here, rubbed from the sheet.

110 this might mean the material *phur pa*, but here, it would seem more likely to imply the Phur pa wrathful one which was sent forth. The mTshams brag and gTing skyes *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1037.5), omit *nyId kyang*; sDe dge gives *nyid* but omits *kyang*.

111 the words beginning here appear to have been deleted: they are bracketed off, with the opening and closing words rubbed from the page, as though to indicate that the entire passage is in error. Presumably, the scribe had begun this section on the perfection of the place in error, and then realised the mistake.

112 probably implying a human cemetery here: see below, 6v, where this term recurs

113 the first part of this comment starts below "thog ma", while the second part starts below, "brtags". Here, our commentator is referring to the two "phun sum tshogs pa" which follow after the activities section.

114 "phar" is written below "bskrad pa", and "tshur..." begins below "mtshams"

115 this comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *ba 'I* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *dkyIl*.

116 sic: for sdang?

/mtshon cha 'I char dang rdo (6v.2) rje gnod sbyIn la stsogs pas bgegs rnams bskrad la/
the downpour of weapons and [the] vajra yakṣa(s) etc. and,

/phur pa bcu khro bo bcur byIn kyIs brlabs te/
the ten *phur pa*s are consecrated as the ten wrathful ones;
(small writing below:)
sum brgya pa las 'byung ba dang mthun
in accordance with [the description] deriving from the "*Three Hundred (Verses)*"[117]

/phyogs bcur btab nas (6v.3) cI tsam 'dod pa tshun chad[118] mtshams gcad do/
having planted [them] at the ten directions, the boundaries are established for as long as [you] wish.

/dang por rIgs lnga 'I lha mnyes par byas te/
First, [you] honour the deities of the five [buddha] families, and
(small writing below:)
khro bo gong du rgya mdud la bsams ~~la~~pa'a[119]
meditating on the wrathful one[s] at the upper knot

/de nas las kyI lha mnyes par (6v.4) byas la/
then [you] honour the deities [who are to perform] the activities, and
(small writing below:)
khungs[120] po nyId nI khro bo 'o
[in their] essential origin[121] [they are] wrathful one[s]

/de nas tIng nge 'dzIn gong nas 'byung ba dang/
then, arising from the earlier samādhi,

/bsnyen pa rnams tshang nas gnas chen por dkyIl 'khor gru gsum (6v.5) la/
having completed the Approach [practice]s, within a triangular maṇḍala in a "sacred place",[122]
(small writing below:)
rnam gsum gang yang rung ba'a
the three aspects [of the practice], whichever may be appropriate[124]
dur khrod du[123]
in a cemetery

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[117] It is not clear which text of three hundred verses is being referred to here, but the tradition of marking out the boundaries for ritual practice through the planting of *phur bu*s in the ten directions is ubiquitous in Tibetan practice, not only in Phur pa rites. It is even possible that the reference is to the *bsTan 'gyur* commentary on vinaya known by this title in short. In full, it is called, *tshig le'ur sum brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa*, Peking 5628, Derge 4126 (Peking Tripitaka Online Search, Otani University: http://web.otani.ac.jp/cri/twrp/tibdate/Peking_online_search.html).

[118] Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* parallel (M. Vol. Chi: 1038.3) gives *bsrung bar* for *tshun chad* here, "...established and protected just as desired".

[119] ~~la~~pa'a: there is a small mark above "la", which is presumably intended to indicate deletion.

[120] khungs: slightly uncertain; a rather less likely possibility would be, "khu sa", although the *nga* does appear clearly formed and distinct from other *tsheg*s in these notes. "Khung po" might also be intended, although this would not seem to clarify the meaning in relation to this line.

[121] the translation is uncertain, given the uncertainty of *khungs*; also we have not found *khungs po* in dictionaries.

[122] gnas chen: as in the major places associated with Heruka's subjugation of Rudra and the parts of Rudra's corpse; here the term presumably indicates a human cemetery, as suggested by the commentary.

[123] the first part of the comment begins beneath "bsnyen pa", and the second part of the comment is given under, "gnas chen".

[124] "rNam gsum" might also mean, three times, so that we would have: "three times, or however many is appropriate". However, assuming it is three aspects which is being referred to here, these *may* correspond to the "three clarities" (*gsal ba rnam pa gsum*), which have a special sense in the context of ritual meditations for striking a *liṅga* in the Phur pa tradition. The *'Bum nag* gives a full elaboration (Boord 228; *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edn. 394ff). In brief, they are: (1) of oneself as Vajrakīlaya/Vajrakumāra; (2) of the *phur bu* as the Supreme Son (3) of the hostile forces and obstacles in the liṅga. The *'Bum nag* explains: "First, [with] *oṃ*

rtse mo lho phyogs su bstan te/
displaying the point[125] towards the southern direction,

/zhIng chen gyI thal ba dang/
[place within?] ashes of [cremated] human flesh and,

ske tshe dang/
black mustard,
(small writing below:)
tsha bas drag
fierce with heat

lan tsha dang/
salt,
(small writing below:)
gzhan 'jIl
expelling others

zhIng chen gyI rag ta dang/
rakta from human corpses,

s[ru?]b[126] ma 'I lo ma dang/ /
leaves of "srub ma" (anemony?),[127]
(small writing below:)
gdug pas
poisonous

---

vajra kīli kīlaya, one clearly manifests as Vajrakumāra; with *sarva vighnān bandha* (Gangtok edn.: *baṃ*) *hūṃ phaṭ*, the *phur pa* clearly manifests as the Supreme Son. Once more, [with] *vajra kīli kīlaya*, those who are to be embodied [in the *liṅga*] clearly manifest in reality. Reciting *kīlaya*, with, *jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*, joined to it, in the Supreme Son's lower hands, a Supreme Son for all ritual activities [is held]. [His] upper body is like a piece of broken coal; [his] lower body is red and resplendent. [He] holds an iron hook [in his] right [hand], and a *phur pa* in his] left. Moving like an arrow [shot] by a master archer, [he] descends upon the [home] place of those to be embodied like a shooting star, seizing them by the heart with [his] iron hook, and skewering [them] with the *phur pa* [in his] left [hand], neither too weakly nor too forcefully. [He] drags [them] like an old tree trunk [with the noise,] "du-ru-ru", [making them] dissolve into the liṅga. It is vital to make [them] dissolve into the effigy. What is wrong with not [having] the threefold clarity like this is that the three [called] reversal, obstruction and diffusion come about. Without the clarity of oneself as Vajrakumāra, [one] falls away. Without the clarity of the *phur pa* as the Supreme Son, [the *phur pa*] will be worn out. Without the clarity that [the objects] are actually embodied, [they] will disperse" (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edn. 394.6–395.6). This category of three clarities would seem to be very apt here, but we need to be cautious in equating later categorisations with those given in this text, especially when the term, *gsal ba*, is not actually spelt out.

125 This probably refers to a point of the triangle, but possibly could refer to the *phur pa*. It seems most likely to refer to the triangular maṇḍala; a line occurring in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 9 (D Vol. Pa, 215r) which is word-for-word the same, describes the triangular *hoṃ khung* vessel in the context of a slaying ritual.

126 srub: uncertain, the *sa* and the final *ba* are clear, but the *ru* is a little uncertain; we seem to have no examples of syllables executed exactly as this one, although attached *ra* + *u* is similarly written in examples such as *sgrub*; *slub* or *sngub*, however, are alternative possibilities. In any case, the only appropriate meaning would seem to arise from *srub ma*, if it is to be equated with *srub ka* (see note below). This also fits with the reading of *srub ma* in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1038.5), although the sDe dge edition (Volume Wa, 352r.2) gives an indistinct reading, perhaps of *srun rma*.

127 see note above; both Das and *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Das for *srubs ma*) suggest churning stick/rod but this is hardly appropriate here; *srub*/*srubs can* also be a cleft, again inappropriate in this context; *Tibetan Medical Paintings* gives *srub ka* as anemony (Plate 27: 71, 72; Plate 33:18). This would seem the most likely identification, especially since at least some varieties are poisonous (M. Lippmann-Pawlowski, translated by O. Konstandt, nd, 12th edn., *The most beautiful Alpine Flowers*, Innsbruck/Tyrol, Pinguin-Verlag, no. 2, 9, 12, 21).

(7r.1)[128] $/ /khre dang cu tse[129] 'I phub ma dang/
husks of millet and water ephedra[130] and
(small writing below:)
yang bas
with lightness[131]

grog mkhar gyI sa dang/
earth from an ant-hill,

bong bu 'I bdud rtsI las sbrus te/
[are] mixed with "donkey juice".[132]
(small writing below:)
bu ram
molasses

/zhIng chen gyI thal ba ma rnyed na/
If [you] cannot obtain human cremation ashes,

/tIl nag po (7r.2) las gzhI blangs te/
taking black sesame [as] a basis,

/gzugs byas kyang rung/
is also alright for making the effigy/form.

rI mor brIs la mdog smug[133] du byas te/
In making a drawing, [you] use maroon colour and

/shun pa la stsogs pa la zhIng gI rag tas hūṃ che ge mo (7r.3) zhIg phat ces brIs nas/
upon a [piece of] bark etc., writing, "hūṃ che ge mo zhig phaṭ"[134] with corpse rakta,

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128 The numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: bdun.

129 cu tse appears to be what is written, but it could be *tsu tse* or *tsu ce*. Given the instances of *ce* for *che* elsewhere in the manuscript, *chu mtse*/*mtshe* (water ephedra?) is most likely to be intended. The *mtshe* shrub (ephedra sp) is widely used in wrathful rituals (see illustration of *mtshe* inserted into the *gtor ma* to be cast in an expelling ritual, Cantwell 1989, Portfolio of Supplementary Materials, diagram of The Great Red gTor-ma, p.10). Spelled either *mtshe* or *'tshe*, this shrub had a very prominent symbolic role in pre-Buddhist religion: for example, in the central myth of the descent of the heavenly king gNya' khri btsan po (*stod lha rabs*), right at the outset, as he begins his descent, the heavenly king has *mtshe* herb placed on his head by the Bon po mTshe mi (Karmay 1998: 301). There are also numerous other references – for example, *mtshe* is used in pre-Buddhist *glud* rituals (Karmay 1998: 341). Perhaps via a process of homologising this indigeneous sacred shrub with an Indic equivalent, *mtshe* became prominent in rNying ma tantra as well. If this reference here in IOL Tib J 331.III is really for *mtshe/'tshe*, then it might be among the earlier recorded instances of its incorporation into Buddhist tantric ritual. The Nitartha dictionary (IW) gives "herb" for *chu mtse*; *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* gives *sngo zhig* for *chu mtshe*. This would suggest that "chu mtshe" is a well-known variety of *mtshe*, although we are uncertain of its exact identification. The parallel passage in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1038.6) gives, *ju tshe* (gTing skyes gives *dzu tshe*, 532.1), although this does little to clarify the identification.

130 identification uncertain; see note 129 above.

131 comment written below "khre dang cu".

132 also *bong bu* can mean insect. In either case, this phrase is quite likely to indicate a specific substance for which "bong bu'i bdud rtsi" is a metaphoric term. The Nitartha dictionary (RY, JV, IW) has entries for *bong bu phye mar* and *bong bu lan tsha*, both terms indicating herbal plants (*lhog dug pa*, *lce tsha*, *stag sha* and/or *sga tsha*).

133 The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version gives *smug nag*, dark maroon.

134 see p.107 note 107 above.

(small writing below:)
gro ba 'am shIng shun[135] lta bu la[136]
like white birch or wood bark

/snyIng kar klan te dkyIl 'khor gyI steng du gan rkyal du bzhag la lho phyogs su mgo [b?]stan[137] te (7r.4) gdon de nyId bkug pa nI mngag gzhug gam/
in the heart, taking revenge,[138] [the effigy is] placed on [its] back above the maṇḍala, displayed [with] the head towards the southern direction, and [you] summon this actual evil being. For this, [it is] permissable to employ the messengers or,
(small writing below:)
ma mo 'am 'phra men ma[139]
mamo[s] or *'phra men ma*

/khro bo sum bha na 'I sbyor ba yang rung/
wrathful ones, [with the] *sumbhani* [mantra?], or

/gsang ba 'I thugs 'am rung/
alternatively, the secret [buddha] heart[140] [is also] permissable.

/rang gI snyIng kar zla ba 'I dkyIl (7r.5) 'khor la dza' 'dI 'dra ba gcIg gzhag la/
At your own heart, upon a moon maṇḍala, [you] establish one like [a] dza',[141] and

/dza hūṃ baṃ ho badzra a 'gu sha che ge mo zhIg [~~pra be sha~~][142] hūṃ dza zhes brjod nas/
having recited, "jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajra aṅkuśa che ge mo zhig hūṃ jaḥ",[143]

/lha mo lcags kyu can (7v.1) grangs myed pa rgyud mar byung bas/
innumerable goddesses with iron hooks arise in a continuous stream (? *rgyud mar*),[144] through which,

/bgegs kyI snyIng nas bzung ste der 'ongs pa dang/
the obstacles are seized by [their] hearts and come here.

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135 letter sha a little smudged and slightly uncertain
136 this comment begins under "la stsogs pa"
137 prefixed *ba* uncertain; appears to be a correction from an original *cha*
138 the meaning is rather uncertain here. The parallel passage in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* does not altogether clarify matters. In place of *klan*, the mTshams brag edition (NGB Volume Chi, 1039.1) gives, *glan*, while sDe dge (Volume Wa 352r.3) gives *blan*? and gTing skyes (Volume Sha 532.3) gives *rlan*. None of these readings are altogether satisfactory, although sDe dge's indistinct *blan* might suggest a sense of luring or summoning; the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* notes an archaic meaning: "tshur 'gugs pa dang/ nang du phyogs pa/ kha drangs pa/" (1916).
139 comment begins under "bkug pa", but is presumably referring to, "mngag gzhug"
140 possibly suggesting a heart meditation or mantra recitation as an alternative to the common method of summoning?
141 Possibly, if it is not simply the syllable which is intended, *dza'* here might be equivalent to *'dzab*, mantra/recitation, perhaps implying a mantra chain in the heart. The parallel passage in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reads slightly differently here. In place of *dza' 'dI 'dra ba gcIg*, it gives, *dza dza [D dzaḥ]/ 'di 'dra ba dkar [D dmar] po gcig* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1039.2; sDe dge variants in square brackets). Besides adding in the adjective, white (or red in D), it is even conceivable that the *dza dza* in this case might refer not to the mantra syllables but to a "*tsa tsa*", a small image visualised in the heart.
142 deletion of three syllables here, almost certainly "pra be sha", rubbed from the page. It appears that there was an eyeskip, to "che ge mo zhig" below, which the scribe then noticed and rectified.
143 again, see p.107 note 107 above.
144 the mTshams brag edition (NGB Volume Chi, 1039.3) of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* agrees with this reading although gTing skyes (532.5) gives *rgyu mar* (or possibly even *rgyu mer*). *rGyu mar* might give the sense of the iron hook goddesses getting to the evil being's entrails.

dza hūṃ baṃ ho che ge mo zhIg pra be sha hūṃ zhes cI ran zhIg brjod (7v.2) nas/
This is the time to say, "jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ[145] che ge mo zhig praveśa hūṃ",[146] [and] having recited [this] once,
(small writing below:)
phebs pa 'I don[147]
[this] means, come

/gzugs sam rI mo la phab ste dza hūṃ baṃ ho zhes brjod nas/
[they] fall down into the effigy or the drawing. Having said, "jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ",

/lcags kyu dang zhags pa dang lcags sgrog gI phyag rgyas bcIngs pa dang/ /
with the mudrās of the iron-hook, lasso and iron chains, [you] tie [them] up and
(small writing below:)
bgegs kyI snyIng ga nas[148]
around the heart of the obstacles

(7v.3) bsdam ba dang de 'I sems ma 'khrugs par dga'[149] bar byas[150] nas/
bind [them] and without agitating their mind[s], [you] make them joyful.[151]
(small writing below:)

za	drIl bus[152]	rmongs par byas pa la bya[153]
eat	with the bell	make [them] befuddled[154]

/e 'I nang du rtse mo 'I 'og du song bar bsam/
Meditate that [they] come beneath the point, within the "e".[155]

/de nas phur bu blangs (7v.4) ba te las kyI lha 'I snyIng po dang bcas pas drag du cung zad cIg bskul la/
Then, taking the *phur bu*, enjoin quite strongly the activity deities with [their?] heart essence [mantras?] once and

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145 The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version inserts "badzra" here.
146 again, see p.107 note 107 above.
147 comment placed under "pra be sha"
148 comment begins at under "lcags kyu"
149 the *a chung* is slightly uncertain; it is subscribed, avoiding the string holes
150 Here, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives, "de'i sems 'khrugs par byas..." (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1039.5).
151 The parallel line in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reads rather differently here (see note 150 above). In particular, the *ma* (assumed in the translation above to be a negative particle), is omitted, as is the word, *dga' bar*, so the meaning becomes, "bind (them) and make their mind[s] agitated". There is also another possible meaning of the line as it is given here: *sems ma* might refer to the goddesses as female [bodhi]sattva[s]. At first sight, this may seem rather unlikely, yet 9r.2 (see below) uses the term, *sems ma*, in referring to the ritual attendant deities' samaya mantras and mudrās, so it would not be altogether out of line with the text here. In this case, the line might mean, "these female [bodhi]sattva[s] rejoice in the disturbance".
152 "za" is placed under "bsdam" and "dril bu" is placed under sems
153 comment placed under "bar byas nas/"
154 the comments, "eat" and "make [them] befuddled" would seem rather inappropriate, assuming we have understood the root text correctly, although the ringing of the bell, representing the activity of the fourth goddess, would seem appropriate at this point, and her activity is generally glossed as intoxicating the negativities or driving them crazy. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading (see note 150 above), however, may fit a little better with the idea of befuddlement, and if the alternative meaning of *sems ma* as female [bodhi]sattva[s] (see note 151 above) is accepted, the comment might also seem less incongruous.
155 presumably here, "e" = the *phur khung*, the triangular stand/container for the effigy mentioned above; the point probably refers to the point of the triangle pointing towards the south, where the effigy's head was to be positioned (6v line 4–5; 7r line 3–4). Alternatively, it is possible that this might mean the point of the *phur bu*.

(small writing below:)
phur pa nyId kyI snyIng po badzra kI la ya ~~m~~bam[156] rdo rje sder mor bya[157]
do the heart essence of Phur pa himself, vajra kIlaya bam, for Vajra Claw[158]

/thal mo sbyar thabs kyIs gsor[159] te/
in the manner of joining the hands together, brandish [the *phur bu*] and

/rdo rje sder mo 'I sngags (7v.5) bzlas la/
recite the mantra of Vajra Claw.

/tIng nge 'dzIn gsal bar ma khugs kyI bar du/
Until clear samādhi has been attained,

/drIl nas/
roll [the *phur bu*] and

tIng nge 'dzIn khugs pa dang/
[on] attaining samādhi,

/gnad kyI steng du rtse mo nas gang tsam gyIs (8r.1)[160] $/ /ma reg par gzas la/
with the tip [of the *phur bu*] above [the effigy's] vital parts, raised and not quite touching [it],

/khro bo 'I ske nas lag pa g.yon pas bzung ste rdo rje tho ba 'am sta re 'I ltag pas brdeg cIng/
[you] grasp the neck of the wrathful one with the left hand, and strike with the upper/back[161] part of the vajra hammer or axe.

/rdo rje sder mo 'I (8r.2) sngags lan gsum 'am bdun nas nyI shu rtsa gcIg gI bar du bzlas shIng btab ste/
Reciting the mantra of Vajra Claw from three or seven up to twenty-one times,[162] [you] stab and

/seng ldeng gI phur pa zur brgyad pa cIg snyIng kar gdab/ /
[then] stab an eight facetted/octagonal[163] acacia wood *phur pa* into [the effigy's] heart.

(8r.3) gcIg 'phral[164] bar gdab/
Stab one [*phur pa*] into the forehead.
(small writing below:)
tshe nyams par bya ba 'I phyIr
to make the life-span deteriorate

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[156] bam: slightly uncertain. A letter ma in front appears to be deleted by a small mark above it, but this is not entirely certain.
[157] comment begins under "po dang bcas"
[158] the import of this comment is not quite clear: Vajra Claw's mantra is given in the text below
[159] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives *gsol*, "make supplication", for *gsor*, "brandish" (M Vol. Chi: 1039.6; D Vol. Wa: 352r.7 agrees with *gsol*; T Vol. Sha: 532.7 seems to be in error, giving *skya sor*).
[160] The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: brgyad.
[161] ltag pa: the exact sense here is not altogether clear.
[162] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version has a slightly different reading here, indicating three, seven or twenty-one times: lan gsum nam/ lan bdun nam/ nyi shu rtsa gcig tu bzlas (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1040.1).
[163] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reads, "eight inches": *sor brgyad* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1040.2). This would be consistent with the description of the "perfection of form" given above in this text (and elsewhere).
[164] as p. 100 note 59 above, *'phral ba*: archaic for *dpral ba*, forehead (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 1792), and this is the reading we find in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1040.2).

bzhI dpung 'go gnyIs dang/
With] four [more], stab into the two shoulders and
(small writing below:)
'gul myI nus par bya ba 'I phyir
to immobilise [it]

brla'I nang logs gnyIs su gdab/
into the two sides of the inner thighs.

/lte ba khung du gcIg gdab bo/ /
Stab one in the navel.
(small writing below:)
lus kyI rten myed par bya ba 'I phyir
to destroy the physical form of the body

(8r.4) rdo rje sder mo 'I sngags nI/
Vajra Claw's mantra:

[165]/na ma sa man ta ka ya bag tsI ta badzra nan/
ōṃ gha gha gha ta ya sa rba du shṭan che ge mo zhIg phaṭ phaṭ/[166]
kI la ya (8r.5) kI la ya sa rba pa pam phaṭ/
/hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ badzra kI la ya badzra dha rod ad nya pa ya[~~n~~?][167] tI ka ya bag tsId ta badzra kI la ya hūṃ phaṭ ces drag du brjod do/ /
"namaḥ samantakāyavākcittavajra nan
oṃ gha gha ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān che ge mo zhig phaṭ phaṭ
kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ/
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīla vajradhara ājñāpayati
kāyavākcittavajra kīlaya hūṃ"
Recite this loudly.

(8v.1) phur bu de dag btab zIn nas de 'I steng du las kyI lha 'I phyag rgya dang sngags kyIs mnan te/
Having completed the stabbing [in of] these *phur bu*s, above them, [you] suppress with the mudrās and mantras of the activity deities,[168] and
(small writing below:)
rdo rje rgya gram gyI[169]
of the crossed vajra

/lag pa gnyIs sor mo bsnol la mthe bo gnyIs (8v.2) ngos sbyar cIng brkyang la/
intertwining the fingers [of] the two hands, the two thumbs[170] are placed together and extended,

[165] The version of this mantra given in the mTshams brag edition of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* is: na ma ssa [DT give sa] man ta kā ya wak tsitta badzra nan/ oṃ gha gha ghā ta ya che ge mo phaṭ/ sa rba du ṣṭan kī li kī la ya sarba pā paṃ phaṭ swāhā [D omits swāhā]/ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ badzra kī la ya/ badzra dha ra ādznyā pa ya tī kā ya wak tsitta badzra kī la ya hūṃ phaṭ/ (1040.3–4)

[166] again, see p. 107 note 107 above.

[167] one letter, probably a final *na*, has been deleted here.

[168] Note that here the mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1040.4–5) omit, *lha 'I*, thus, "mudrās and mantras of the activities", although this is quite possibly a shared error of MT, since D (Vol. Wa D352v.3) includes *lha'i*.

[169] comment starts beneath lha 'i

gzhan rgyab drang por bsrang/
the other [fingers'] backs are straightened out.

/de 'I sngags la ōṃ kar ma badzra kro dha hūṃ phaṭ swa ha/
The mantra for this [is]: "oṃ karma vajra krodha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā".

/lan nyI shu rtsa gcIg bzlas te (8v.3) g.yas phyogs nas bskor la/
Reciting [it] twenty-one times, [you] rotate in a clockwise direction and

/kI la ya 'I mgo la lan gsum gtug go/
touch three times to Kilaya's head.[171]

/de nas slar phur pa myI dbyung zhIng sus kyang myI phyIn (8v.4) par lhag par yang zug cIng thal phyIn par bsam mo/
Then, without taking out the *phur pa*[s] again, [you] meditate that whosoever [the obstacles?, they] do not leave, [for the *phur pa*s] are entirely planted [into] and transfix [them].

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas dam tshIg gI phyag rgya bstan pa ste/
Then, displaying the samaya mudrā,

sor mo rnams rgyab du bsnol te bcangs (8v.5) la/
holding [the *phur pa* between?] the fingers intertwined back [to back],

/gung mo gnyIs rgyab sbyar nas rtse mo bsgreng la sor mo rnon por byas te phur pa 'I glad du gnan/
having joined the backs[172] [of] the two middle fingers [together, you] raise up the tip[s] and pointing the fingers,[173] [you] press [them?] down on top of the *phur pa*.[174]

/phur pa 'I lha dang bgegs che ge mo (9r.1)[175] $/ /khyod dam tshIg 'dI las ma 'da' shIg
You, Phur pa deities and obstacles of whatever name, do not transgress this samaya!

/par[176] bsgo zhIng sngags 'dI lan bdun bzlas so/
[I] am commanding [you]![177] This mantra is recited seven times:

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[170] Note that here the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1040.5) reads, mthe bong dang mthe'u chung: "the two thumbs and the two little fingers".

[171] the meaning here is not entirely clear: this may be referring to the mudrā of rotating the *phur pa* around one's head.

[172] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.1) omits *rgyab*, so the meaning is simply: "joining the two middle fingers".

[173] this is uncertain: literally, making the fingers sharp/ sharpening the fingers. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.1) omits *sor mo*, so the meaning would be, "pointing [them]", implying the finger tips.

[174] all rather uncertain here! The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.1) gives *slad du* for *glad du* (gTing skyes omits this, but the reading is shared by sDe dge), which may suggest, "[you] afterwards press down [with?] the *phur pa*."

[175] The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: dgu.

[176] Although clearly executed, it is uncertain what this syllable is meant to indicate here. It might be intended to be connected to the *shig*, perhaps giving the sense, "I am commanding you not to transgress...". This is how the lines read in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.2), where *zhig par* is given for *shig /par*. An alternative possibility here, however, is that "*phar*" is intended, "Commanding [them] out".

[177] slightly uncertain: this would be the meaning if the reading *shIg par* were intended (in line with the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version). If, however, the *shad* is intended and *par* is intended to read, *phar*, the meaning would become, "Commanding [them] out [with this]..."

/ōṃ badzra sad twa sa ma ya hūṃ phaṭ ces brjod do/ /
"oṃ vajra sattva samaya hūṃ phaṭ"

(9r.2) 'dI nI sems ma dam tshIg gI sngags dang phyag rgya ste bsgo ba thams chad nyan par bsam/
This being the female [bodhi]sattva['s] samaya mantra and mudrās, meditate that [they] obey all the commands.

/de nas sor mo rnams nang du bsnol la/
Then, intertwining the fingers inwards,[178]

/mthe bo (9r.3) dang mthe 'u chung gnyIs ngor sbya[r?][179] la bsgreng/
the thumbs and the two little fingers are placed together, raised up,

/khu tshur myI bcang bar sor mo rnams phyIr bkyed de phur pa 'I steng du gnan cIng (9r.4) sngags 'dI brjod do/
without clenching the fists, the fingers are bent back outside, pressing over the *phur pa*, and this mantra is recited:

[180]/ōṃ badzra kro dha ha na da dha pa tsa tshIn dha tshIn dha rba na rba na hūṃ phaṭ ces nyI shu rtsa gcIg bzlas so/
"oṃ vajra krodha hana daha paca chindha chindha rbna rbna hūṃ phaṭ"
Recite this twenty-one times.
(small writing below:)
phur pa 'I khro bo nyId kyI phyag rgya dang sngags
the mudrā[s] and mantra[s] of the Phur pa wrathful one[s them]selves

/stobs che ba 'I sngags (9r.5) dang phyag rgya ste/
[This] is the mantra and mudrā of the Great Powerful One,[181] so

/gong du bka' nyan pa las bdag gI dbang du gyur nas cI bsgo ba thams chad bdag gI bran bzhIn las byed par 'gyur ro/ /
through attending to the above commands, [they] are brought under one's own control, so whatever all the commands [may be, they] carry them out like one's own servants.

(9v.1) de nas yungs kar gyI rgyal pos brdeg cIng gu gul sbyar mas bdugs la gzhag go/
Then, beating [obstacles?] with the king of white mustard seeds and fumigating with compounded[182] frankincense, [they?] are settled down.

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas lag pa gnyIs rgyab sbyar mthe 'u chung (9v.2) gnyIs gcIg la gcIg mkhyud/[183]
Then, the two hands are joined back [to back, and] the two little fingers[184] wrap round[185] each other.

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[178] a little uncertain: might mean, intertwining [the *phur bu*?] within/between the fingers
[179] final *ra* appears to be a correction of an original letter, it is a little unclear.
[180] This mantra is given as follows in the mTshams brag edition of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*: /oṃ badzra kro dha/ ha na ha na/ da ha da ha/ pa tsa pa tsa/ tshin dha tshin dha/ rba na rba na hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ/ (1041.4–5).
[181] this most probably refers to the Wrathful One, Mahābala (*stobs po che* or *stobs chen*); the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.5) gives, *stobs po che*.
[182] sbyar ma: as above (see p.106 note 103) a little uncertain. Here, the mTshams brag and gTing skyes *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* give the more straightforward, *sbyar ba'i* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1041.7), but sDe dge gives *sbyar mas*.
[183] mkhyud: presumably, as an equivalent to *'khyud*; see note 185 below on its translation.

/'dzub mo gnyIs kha 'gram g.yas g.yon du bsgreng ste yId dgu bar bya/
Raising upright the two forefingers nearby, at the left [and] right, [you] should make [the attendants?] mentally bend down.[186]

/lhag ma rnams nang du bcangs[187] (9v.3) la 'dzub mo gnyIs mche bar bsams te/
Holding [the *phur pa*???] within the remaining [fingers], meditate on the two forefingers as the teeth (?????)[188] and

/rkang pa g.yon pas bgegs kyI snyIng kar mnan la/
with the left foot pressing down on the heart of the obstacles,

/sngags 'dI lan bdun (9v.4) bzlas so/
recite this mantra seven times:

/ōṃ badzra ya ksha kro dha kha kha kha ha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ces brjod do/
"oṃ vajra yakṣa krodha kha kha kha ha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ"

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas rdo rje be con gyI sngags dang (9v.5) phyag rgya ste/
Then, for the mantra and mudrā of Vajra Club,[189]

/lag pa gnyIs sor mo lu gu rgyud du bsnol la/
intertwining the fingers [of] the two hands as an interlocking chain,[190]

mthe bo g.yas pa g.yon pa 'I steng du bzhag/
place [them?] above the right [and] left thumbs.

/'dzub mo gnyIs ngos (10r.1)[191] $/ /sbyar te/
Placing together the two forefingers, and

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184 the mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1041.7) add *mthe bong* in front of *mthe'u chung*, producing a meaning of, "the thumbs and little fingers", but this may be an error since it is not shared by sDe dge (Vol. Wa, 353r.2).

185 *mkhyud* can be an equivalent for *'khyud* and this meaning would seem more appropriate here; if the more usual sense of *mkhyud* is intended, the meaning would be: conceal/hold onto each other. The mTshams brag version of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (Volume Chi, 1041.7) gives *'khyud* (sDe dge Vol. Wa, 353r.2, shares *mkhyud*, while gTing skyes Vol. Sha, 534.6 – almost certainly in error – gives *rgyud*).

186 Note that the mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading, *yid mgu bar byas* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1042.1), gives a rather different sense here, "creates mental rejoicing", but sDe dge (Vol. Wa, 353r.3) shares Tib J 331.III's *dgu bar*.

187 End of line: the *nga* is subscribed.

188 All the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* versions agree with the reading, *mche ba* (teeth), which does not seem very clear here. The *Phur pa bcu gnyis* passage also has *mche ba*/*bas*, but its lines otherwise rather diverge from the text here, and do not help to clarify our meaning. They rather illustrate the creative re-embedding of textual material across different sources. Based on the sDe dge edition, the lines would translate, "Clenching the fists, the forefingers raised upright, [they] should bend down to the two [fingers?] nearby. [This] is considered to be killing with teeth/fangs. The left foot presses down on the heart..." (/khu tshur bcangs [bcings] te [ste] mdzub mo [so sor] bsgreng/ [bsgrengs] /kha 'gram gnyis su dgu por bya/ [bsgreng/bsgrengs] /mche bas [ba] gsod pa yin par brtag/ [brdeg] /rkang pa g.yon pa snying gar [khar] mnan/ [bzhag/gzhag], sDe dge Volume Pa, 225v, variants given in other versions in square brackets).

189 this might simply mean, "of the vajra club".

190 *śṛṅkhalamudrā*

191 The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: bcu tham ba.

bsgreng nas sdang dmyIg du dgrad[192] nas rdeg cIng sngags 'dI lan nyI shu rtsa gcIg gam brgya rtsa brgyad du bzlas so/
holding [them] up, [you] stare with an angry look, and striking, [you] recite this mantra twenty-one or one hundred and eight times:[193]

[194]/ōṃ badzra kro dha (10r.2) ma ha pa la ha na da ha pa tsa bI twan sa ya dza tI la lam bho dha ra u tsus sma kro dha hūṃ phaṭ ces brjod do/[195]
"oṃ vajra krodha mahābala hana daha paca vidhvaṃsaya jaṭilāmbhodhara ucchuṣmakrodha hūṃ phaṭ"

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas yungs kar gyI rgyal pos brdeg (10r.3) cIng/
Then, pelting with the king of white mustard seeds,

gu gul sbyar mas bdugs la las 'dI shIn du brtan zhIng grub par gyur cIg par bcol lo/
fumigating with compounded[196] frankincense, really reinforcing these activities, [you] entrust [them] to bring accomplishment at once.

/ (extended ornamental shad) /cung zad byIn chung ba (10r.4) 'dra na rdo rje brjId gnon gyI bsam rtan gyIs gnan par bya ste/
If [only?] a little, such as small majestic power [should arise?], [you] should press down with the Vajra Overpowering meditation.
(small writing below:)
brnag pa 'I cho ga'[197]
the ritual of mental focusing

/khro bo rnams kyI spyI bo bsdus pa 'I nang du hūṃ mthIng nag las/
From [a] dark blue hūṃ/hūṃs [which] is/are concentrated within[198] the crown of the heads of the wrathful ones,

/rdo rje (10r.5) ljang ku rgya gram me rlce[199] 'phreng bas bskor pa 'I dkyIl du/
[a] green crossed vajra [arises], encircled by a garland of tongues of fire, [and] at [its] centre,

/yI ge su gser [~~gyI~~][200] btso ma 'I mdog 'dra ba zhIg 'dug pa las/
there is one syllable su, [its] colour like refined gold, [and] from [this],

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192 dgrad: *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* gives (snying) bgrad. This fits with the the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading of *bgrad* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1042.3, shared with sDe dge, Vol. Wa, 353r.4) or *bsgrad* (gTing skyes Volume Sha, 535.1).

193 Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1042.3) adds "bdun nam" at the beginning of the options, ie. seven, twenty-one or one hundred and eight times.

194 The version of the mantra in the mTshams brag edition of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s parallel text (1042.4; sDe dge variants in square brackets) is: /oṃ badzra kro dha ma hā ba la ha na da ha ba tsa bid tan [D: pa tsa bidhwan] sa ma ya dza ti laṃ bo da ra u tsus ma [D tstshuṣma] kro dha hūṃ phaṭ/

195 This mantra is given in the *Mahābala-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, of which there are many copies in the Dunhuang materials. In one, it is given as follows: "om bajra gro dhā ma ha ba la / ha na da ha pa ca / bi dhan sa ya / ji ti la / lam po da ra / u cu smra kro dha hūṃ phaṭ sva hā" (Bischoff 1956: 26).

196 sbyar ma: as above (see p.106 note 103 and p. 117 note 182).

197 comment appears under the first four syllables

198 Note that the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading, *steng du* (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1042.6) gives the meaning, "above" rather than "within" here. It is not clear whether there should be a single or multiple hūṃ; the implication of the version here is that there are *hūṃ*s in each of the wrathful ones, but the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading might suggest a single *hūṃ* above the gathered deities.

199 rlce: we appear to have a prefixed *ra* here; it does not seem to add anything of significance, and is perhaps a scribal error?

200 the deleted letter *ga* is slightly uncertain, since it has been rubbed from the page.

/ōṃ badzra (10v.1) su mye tuṃ hūṃ sa ma ya stwaṃ zhes brjod nas/
having recited, "oṃ vajra ?sume tuṃ hūṃ samayas tvaṃ",[201]

/gser gyI rI rab dpag tshad bye ba gru bzhI pa gcIg 'dug pa las/
a golden square Mount Meru [of] ten million leagues is present, from [which][202]

/bcom ldan 'das don yod (10v.2) grub pa sku mdog ljang ku/
[arises] the Victorious One, Amoghasiddhi, [his] body green [in] colour,

/dbu gsum phyag drug pa g.yas kyI dang po la phyar te bsnams/
[with] three heads [and] six arms, the first right [of which he] holds aloft.[203]

/g.yon kyI dang po [~~la~~]na[204] rdo rje rgya gram thugs kar (10v.3) brtan pa 'a/
In the first left [hand], a crossed vajra is held firm[205] at the heart.

'khor dpag du myed pa 'I phong brang btab pa 'a/
[He?] strikes the palace[206] of the immeasurable retinue.[207]

/khro bo rnams kyang shIn du gzIr zhIng myI g.yo ba dang/ /
Meditate that even [the] wrathful ones are really pinned down and immobilised, and

(10v.4) las ma grub na bskal pa ma[=]'I[208] bar du gnas par bsam/
[they] will remain[209] for aeons until the activities have been completed.

/'phrIn las kyang de bzhIn du bcol te gzhag go/
Activities are likewise also entrusted and established in this way.

/yo byad thams chad nag (10v.5) por bsham/
[You should] prepare all the requisite articles in black.

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[201] Perhaps sumeru is indicated with this mantra?

[202] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* version gives a slightly different connonation here. It gives, "gcig [D zhig] tu gyur pa'i steng du" for "gcig 'dug pa las for tu gyur pa'i steng du" (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1043.1), so the line could be translated, "[it] entirely becomes a golden square Mount Meru [of] ten million leagues, above [which]"

[203] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives, "g.yas kyi dang po na 'khor lo 'bar ba phyar te bsnams", "in the first right [hand he] holds aloft a blazing wheel" (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1043.2; the sDe dge edition shares this reading; gTing skyes omits *'khor lo*, most probably in error). There is no way to be certain but it is quite possible that IOL Tib J 331.III has a scribal omission here.

[204] la deleted both by a short line above and by rubbing from the page. It is most likely that it was an error which was noticed immediately.

[205] The mTshams brag and gTing skyes editions of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* give, "bstan" rather than "brtan", hence, " the first left [hand] exhibits a crossed vajra..." (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1043.2). The sDe dge edition, however, has "brten" (Vol. Wa, 353v.1), which perhaps increases the likelihood of "brtan" as an earlier reading.

[206] phong brang: meaning uncertain, possibly even, "impoverished dwelling[s]". *Phong can* = *phongs*, impoverished, and *brang* can be a dwelling (although more often signifies chest). But it is more likely that this is a scribal error for *pho brang*, palace. This would seem to make better sense here! Moreover, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives, "pho brang" (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1043.2), and also in the parallel passage in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14 (D 225v), all editions have pho brang.

[207] Although less likely, it is also just possible that *'khor* may indicate *'khor ba*, saṃsāra, here (note Paul Harrison's discussion, 1990: 153 note 5, on the use of *'khor* for *'khor ba* in a sūtra context).

[208] there is an unreadable deleted letter (crossed out in ink) between the *ma* and the *'i*, but no obvious *tsheg*

[209] The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives, "mnan" rather than "gnas", hence, "[they] will be kept down..." (mTshams brag Volume Chi, 1043.3).

/gtor ma nag po cha gcIg bshams te/
Arranging a black *gtor ma* portion,[210]
(small writing below:)
gtor ma 'dI dug du byIn kyIs brlab cIng blang ba dang gtor ma 'I 'od du '[ph?]ros pas mtshon cha 'I char du gyur pas phog par bsgom
meditate that this *gtor ma* is consecrated as poison and taken up, and through radiating as the *gtor ma* light, it transforms into a rain of weapons falling down

dam tshIg can 'khor dang bcas pa dang/
dedicating [it] to those bearing samaya along with [their] retinues and

/'jIg rten thams chad la bsngo zhIng (11r.1)[211] $/ /las bcol lo/
all worldly [deities], the activities are entrusted [to them].

/drag po 'I gtor ma cha gcIg gdon de nyId bkug ste zar gzhug go/
Sending forth the destructive *gtor ma* portion, [you] summon these very [beings] and [they] start to eat [it].

/'phrIn las 'dI 'I dus su 'phra men ma dang (11r.2) gnod sbyIn ma dang srIn mo rnams kyang spyan drang zhIng gtor ma dbul/
At the time of these activities, inviting the *'phra men ma* and also the *yakṣī*s and *rākṣasī*s, the *gtor ma* is offered.
(small writing below:)
dam tshIg can rnams[212]
those bearing samaya

/las bcol te dza hūṃ baṃ ho/
The activities are entrusted and by reciting, "jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ...

e hya hI bha ga bhan bhI dha ya kshI dzā/
bhyo bhyo (11r.3) ru lu ru lu hūṃ zhes lan gsum brjod pas spyan drang ngo/
"ehi bhagavan ?bhidhaya yakṣī jaḥ
bhyo bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ", three times, [they] are invited.

/ō pra tId dza zhes pas gtor ma dbul lo/
The *gtor ma* is offered by reciting, "oṃ pratīccha".

/ōṃ sa ma ya a mrI (11r.4) ta a rgam pra tId tsa hūṃ swa ha/
"oṃ samaya amṛtārghaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā"

/zhes lan bdun bzlas te ar mrI ta phul nas cI 'dod pa 'I las bcol lo/
Reciting [this] seven times, the elixir is offered and whatever activities [you] desire are entrusted [to them].

/'dI nI 'phrIn las phun sum (11r.5) tshogs pa 'o/
This is the perfection [of] activities.

---

210 Cha gcig can also mean, a pair ("Arranging a pair of black *gtor ma*s"). Alternatively, the line may mean: "Arranging one portion [of] black *gtor ma*".
211 The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: bcu gcig.
212 comment placed beneath "gtor ma dbul"

/ (extended ornamental shad) /dus phun sum tshogs pa nI/
The perfection [of] the timing:

tshes bcu bdun man chad mar gyI ngo dang/
from the seventeenth day, [during] the waning moon,

/nyIn mtshan gyI gung dang/
[at] midday [or] midnight and,
(small writing below:)
yar gyI ngo las myI dge ba dang drag shul bya bar myI shIs/ (extended ornamental shad)
[at the time of] the waxing moon, it is inauspicious to perform non-virtuous activities and ritual activities [of] destruction

/gza' dang sbyar (11v.1) ba dang/
[at times of] planetary conjunction[s],
(small writing below:)
dmyIg dmar la bya
perform [it] on Mars [day?] (ie. Tuesday)

/bsnyen pa tshang ba dang/
[when] the Approach [practice] is completed and,
(small writing below:)
rnam gsum gang yang rung ba dang
the three aspects [of the Approach practice],[213] whichever may be appropriate, and

/rtags byung ba la stsogs ste 'dI ni dus phun sum tshogs pa 'o/
the signs [of success] have arisen etc., this is the perfection [of] the timing.
(small writing below:)
phur bu 'gul[214] ba' rmyI ltas bzang po
the *phur bu* shaking, good dreams [and] omens

/ (extended ornamental shad) /gnas phun sum tshogs pa nI gnas (11v.2) chen po dang/
The perfection [of] the place: a "sacred place" and
(small writing below:)
dur khrod[215]
cemetery

/shIng rkang[216] gcIg pa dang/
[with] one solitary tree and,
(small writing below:)
'dI la 'byung po gnas pas
since elementals reside here

gdon par nges pa ste/
[a place where] drawing/driving forth [negativities][217] is certain;

---

213 see above, 6v line 5, where the commentator also mentions the three aspects (and p.109-110 note 124 discussing this). "rNam gsum" might also mean, three times, so that we would have: "three times, or however many is appropriate".
214 the letter *ga* is slightly uncertain; it is formed like a cross between *'gul* and *'bul*, but *'gul* is more appropriate here
215 comment is placed below the second "gnas"
216 final *nga* rather uncertain, as though a correction over an original letter, *ra*. Almost certainly, however, *rkang* is intended here.
217 uncertain here: not sure whether *gdon par* has this sense here or not. The parallel text in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1031.3), and also in Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa (2003: 164) reads, *gnod*

(small writing below:)
gang la bya ba de nyId la bya
[this] is to be done for whosoever is the [rite's] actual object

/'dI nI gnas phun sum tshogs pa 'o/
this is the perfection [of] the place.

/ (extended ornamental shad) /bdag nyId phun sum tshogs pa nI//
The perfection [of] yourself [ie. the practitioner]:

(11v.3) byang chub la gzhol zhIng mang du thos pa dang/
dedicated to Enlightenment, [having] heard many [teachings],[218]
(small writing below:)
byang chub kyI sems la dga' ba
delighting in bodhicitta

/las la mkhas pa dang/
skilled in the ritual activities,
(small writing below:)
rdzub rdzub po ma yIn ba las la mkhas pa'
[genuinely] skilled in ritual activity without being a charlatan

lha nye bar gyur pa dang/
familiarised (with the) deity/deities,
(small writing below:)
rtag du lha sgom ba
continually meditating [on] the deity/deities

myI phyed pa 'I dad pa thob pa dang/ /
having attained unshakable faith and
(small writing below:)
gzhan gyIs dben byar myI tshugs pa'
[one's] solitude is undisturbed by others

(11v.4) drag[219] cIng ldog pa myed pa 'I sems dang/
the mind neither fierce nor relapsing,
(small writing below:)
brtson 'grus
[with] energetic application

ldan ba dang/
endowed with [all the above qualities];

par, which suggests that a scribal error involving a spoonerism may have taken place. The meaning would be, "it is really dangerous". Nonetheless, the comment below would fit with the reading given in our text.

[218] the implication of *mang du thos pa* is one who is learned; a literal translation seemed appropriate here, since it brings out the emphasis on absorbing heard knowledge rather than more modern notions of book learning.

[219] The parallel text in Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa (2003: 164) reads, *rtag*, which may seem a little more appropriate. The meaning would be, "a constant mind which does not relapse". However, the root tantra source for Mag gsar, ie. the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1030.5), agrees with IOL Tib J 331.III.

(small writing below:)
brtson ba
persevering

'phrag dog dang/
without jealousies and
(small writing below:)
ma grub na
if not accomplished

'bras bu gzhan la re ba myed pa dang/
hopes for any other result, and
(small writing below:)
grags pa thob du re ba myed
without hoping to attain fame

/dam tshIg (11v.5) ma nyams pa 'dI rnams nI bdag nyId phun sum tshogs pa 'o//
with the samayas undegenerated; these [constitute] the perfection [of] yourself.
(small writing below:)
rtsa ba dang yan lag gI[220]
of root and branch (ie. root and branch samayas)

//rdzogs sts-ho// //
The End.

[220] comment begins under, "ma nyams"

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6

A: Passage parallel to the IOL Tib. J 331.III Consecrations section in Chapter 9 of the NGB's rDo rje phur bu mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po (Myang 'das)

Sigla: **D** = sDe dge; **G** = sGang steng-b; **M** = mTshams brag; **N** = Nubri; **R** = Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang norbu; **Rc** = corrections to R in red ink; **T** = gTing skyes

This excerpt is from a critical edition.

sDe dge: Volume Zha 56r; mTshams brag: Volume Chi 130v(260); sGang steng: Volume Chi 116v; gTing skyes: Volume Sa 157r(313); Rig 'dzin: Volume Sa 126r; Nubri: Volume Sha 59v.

/sku gsung[1] thugs su byin brlab[2] pa/
/ma bcos chos nyid dag pa la/
/rang byung[3] ye shes mngon[4] gsal[5] na/
/dang por chos skur byin brlab[6] pa'o[7]/[8]
/dang po'i rgya[9] mdud gzhal yas la/[10]
/rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas 'khor dang bcas/
/lte ba[11] rtsibs dang ldan pa la/ N60r
/phyogs mtshams[12] khro bo 'khor dang bcas/
/rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la/
/steng 'og khro bo 'khor dang bcas/[13]
/go'u rī[14] brgyad[15] dang bse mor bcas[16]/
/zur[17] stengs sing ha[18] stag gdong[19] bcas[20]/
/zur[21] gsum logs la sgo ma'i tshogs/
/spyi dang rtse la yab yum gnyis/
/so so'i snying po dran tsam gyis/[22]

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1 gsung: MG dang
2 brlab: D brlabs; TN rlab; R rlabs
3 byung: TRN 'byung; Rc byung
4 mngon: MG sngon
5 gsal: N bsal
6 brlab: D brlab (gap of about one syllable); TRN rlabs
7 pa'o: Rc pa
8 This Dharmakāya consecration begins the section which runs parallel to IOL Tib J 331.III. As with the Dharmakāya consecration, the following lines paraphrase the text in IOL Tib J 331.III for the first lines of the Sambhogakāya consecration, but closer parallels begin below.
9 rgya: N rgyu
10 /dang po'i rgya mdud gzhal yas la/: MG omit
11 lte ba: MG lte ba'i; TRN lta ba
12 mtshams: T 'tshams
13 /rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la/ /steng 'og khro bo 'khor dang bcas/: MG omit these two *tshig rkang*
14 go'u rī: MG ke'u ri; TRN ki ri
15 brgyad: N brgya ba
16 bse mor bcas: MG ma mor byas
17 zur: MG zung
18 sing ha: D seng ha; MG sing nga; TN si nga; R sing
19 gdong: MG dang; R bdong
20 bcas: N cas
21 zur: N szur (sa written as though a prefix, not a head letter)
22 With this line, close parallelling with the consecration section in IOL Tib J 331.III (2v.4) begins.

/gzugs[23] dang gnyis su[24] med par bsam[25]/
/gnyis su med pa'i[26] mchod pa dang/
/phyi nang gsang ba'i mchod pas mchod/
/dam tshig rjes su[27] dran par[28] bskul[29]/ M131r(261)
/gnyis su[30] med par rgyan[31] rdzogs par/
/longs[32] spyod rdzogs skur byin brlab[33] pa'o[34]/
/lte ba man chad zur gsum la/
/ro stod mthing nag zhal[35] gsum po[36]/ G117r
/ral pa kham nag bhṛ gu[37] ta/
/gyen du 'greng zhing srid rtser[38] 'bar/
/brang gis 'gro dang thod rlon dang/
/stag dang glang chen zhing lpags[39] kyis/
/sku dang yan lag shin tu brgyan[40]/
/spyan bgrad[41] mche gtsigs[42] shin tu[43] rngam[44]/
/dur khrod rgyan brgyad[45] me dpung na[46]/
/gru gsum e yi[47] nang du ni/ T157v(314)
/sku smad lcags phur zur gsum pa'o[48]/
/sum cha nub nas g.yon la gzigs/
/phyag g.yas dang po sta[49] ltag[50] rdeg[51]/
/'og ma ri rab gnon tshul 'dzin/
/g.yon gyis[52] rdo rje khaṭwāṃ[53] 'khrol/
/'og ma phur pa 'debs pa'i tshul/
/bdud dpung 'joms shing[54] ngan song sbyong[55]/

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23 gzugs: MG gzungs
24 gnyis su: R gnyisu
25 bsam: R bsams
26 pa'i: MG par
27 rjes su: R rjesu
28 par: MG pas
29 bskul: TRN skul
30 gnyis su: R gnyisu
31 rgyan: MG brgyan
32 longs: TR long
33 brlab: MG brlabs; TRN rlab
34 pa'o: Rc pa
35 zhal: N zhag
36 po: MGR pa'o; Rc pa
37 bhṛ gu: MG 'bri ku; TRN 'bri gu
38 rtser: D rtse
39 lpags: MG pags
40 tu brgyan: TR du rgyan; N tu rgyan
41 spyan bgrad: D zhal bgrad; M spyan bgrang; TRN spyan dgrad; Rc spyan bgrad
42 mche gtsigs: T mtshe gtshigs; R mche gtshigs
43 tu: TR du
44 rngams: DN rngams
45 rgyan brgyad: MG brgyan brgyad; TRN dang ni
46 na: TRN ni
47 e yi: MG ma e'i; TRN a'i
48 pa'o: MGTRN po
49 sta: D rna; MGTRN lta
50 ltag: MG stag
51 rdeg; D gdengs; TR rdag
52 gyis: MG na; TRN pa
53 khaṭwāṃ: D khwaṭwāṃ; MG kha twāṃ; TRN kha tong

/mthu dang rdzu 'phrul gzhan pas[56] che/
/rtag[57] pa chen por bzhugs par[58] bsam/
/sprul pa'i sku ru byin brlab[59] pa'o[60]/ R126v
/spyi bor ōṃ[61] la sked[62] par hrīḥ[63]/ D56v
/rtse mo'i[64] ngos[65] su phaṭ bsam[66] la[67]/
/sku gsung thugs su byin gyis brlab[68]/ N60v
/ngos gsum hūṃ gzhag[69] zur gsum phaṭ/
/shin tu[70] gsal zhing 'tsher ba dang/
/so so'i khro bo thams cad kyis/
/byin gyis brlabs shing[71] dbang bskur te[72]/
/khro bo'i dkyil 'khor de dag nyid/
/phyogs bcur 'phros nas slar 'dus te/ M131v(262)
/hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ[73] sgra 'byin cing/
/sku la bstim la[74] dbang rnams sbyin/
/de nas 'gro ba'i don la gshegs[75]/
/phyogs bcu'i[76] bder[77] gshegs thams cad kyis/
/sngon[78] chad stongs[79] grogs bya ba ru/
/zhal gyis bzhes shing dam bcas pas/
/de yi[80] stongs[81] dang grogs mdzad do/ G117v
/de yang bdag nyid chen po las[82]/
/phur pa'ang[83] bdag nyid chen po ru/
/byin brlab[84] dbang rnams bskur ba'i phyir/

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54 shing: D shing (final nga resembles da); TRN zhing
55 sbyong: D sbyang; N spyod
56 pas: MG las
57 rtag: MG rtags
58 par: TRN pas
59 brlab: N rlabs
60 pa'o: Rc pa
61 ōṃ: MGTRN oṃ
62 sked: MG rked; TRN rkyed
63 hrīḥ: MGTRN hri
64 mo'i: TRN mo
65 ngos: TR ngo
66 bsam: MGT bsams
67 la: D pa
68 brlab: MG brlabs
69 gzhag: TRN bzhag
70 tu: TR du
71 brlabs shing: MG brlabs cing; TRN rlab cing
72 te: TRN ste
73 phaṭ: N omits
74 bstim la: D bstim zhing; TRN stim la
75 gshegs: R gshye
76 bcu'i: MG bcur
77 bder: D bde; Rc bde
78 sngon: MG sngan
79 stongs: DTRN stong
80 de yi: TRN de'i
81 stongs: Rc stong
82 las: TRN bsang
83 pa'ang: TRN pa
84 brlab: MG brlabs; TRN rlab

/g.yas g.yon nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor la/
/hūṃ dang āḥ[85] ni shin tu[86] gsal/
/gung mo mthe bong mdzub[87] srin dang/
/mthe'u[88] chung la sogs g.yas g.yon la/
/ōṃ[89] hūṃ traṃ hrīḥ āḥ[90] la sogs/
/rim pa bzhin du gsal bkod la/ T158r(315)
/su ra ta stwāṃ[91] zhes brjod pas/
/thal mo mnyam par sbyar bar bya'o[92]/
/oṃ badzra anydza[93] li hūṃ/
sor mo cung zad bsnol[94] bar bya'o[95]/
/oṃ badzra bhandha[96] hūṃ/
sor mo rgyab tu bsnol te[97] bsdam[98]/
/sa ma ya stwaṃ[99]/
/phur pa[100] blangs te chang[101] par gzhug[102]/
/lag pa'i rting pa kha phye[103] la/
/mthe bong gnyis dang srin lag dang/[104]
/mthe'u[105] chung bar du phur pa gzhug[106]
/mthe bong bsgul la[107] phur pa[108] 'dril[109]/ N61r
/ōṃ badzra ā[110] be sha ya a a[111]/
/phyogs bcu[112] bde[113] gshegs sras dang bcas/
/zhe[114] sdang rjes su dran pa[115] yis[116]/

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85 āḥ: MGTRN a
86 tu: TRN du
87 mdzub: TRN 'dzub
88 mthe'u: TRN mthe
89 ōṃ: MGTRN oṃ
90 traṃ hrīḥ āḥ: MG traṃ hri a; TR hri traṃ a; N hri traṃ ā
91 ta stwāṃ: D stwāṃ; MGTR ta stoṃ; N twaṃ (the parallel mantra in IOL Tib J 331, 4v.3, gives ta stwaṃ)
92 sbyar bar bya'o: D sbyor ro
93 anydza: MG a dzha; T a na dza; R an dza; N an dzwa
94 bsnol: TRN snol
95 bya'o: D bya; Rc bya
96 bhandha: MGTRN ban dha
97 bsnol te: TRN snol ste
98 bsdam: M bstan; G bstam
99 stwaṃ: TRN stom
100 pa: D bu
101 chang: Rc 'chang (perhaps Rc is more "correct" here)
102 gzhug: D bcang; MG bzhugs
103 phye: D phyes
104 N inserts two more *tshig rkang*, then attempts to delete them, but leaves them partially legible: mtha chang ...... dang sran lag dang/ / mtha chang gnyas dang sran lag dang/ (apparently a dittography)
105 mthe'u: TRN mthe
106 gzhug: MG bzhugs; T bzhug
107 bong bsgul la: D bo bsgul la; TRN bong bar du
108 phur pa: N phu bu
109 'dril: D sgril; TRN dril; Rc 'dril
110 ōṃ badzra ā: MGTRN oṃ badzra a
111 a: MG ā
112 bcu: TRN bcu'i
113 bde: MG bder
114 zhe: N zhes
115 dran pa: MG 'dus pa'i
116 yis: MG sku; TRN yi

/nyungs[117] 'bru tsam gyi skur 'thon[118] nas/
/bar mtshams[119] med par phur pa la/
/bsdu zhing bstim[120] la byin gyis brlab[121]/ M132r(263)
/sku gsung thugs[122] su dbang bskur[123] nas[124]/ R127r
/sor mo rgyab bsnol[125] gung mo gshib[126]/
/bsgrengs pa'i[127] bar du phur bu gzung[128]/
/ōṃ[129] badzra sa twa rā dza[130] hūṃ/
de nas sor mo phug phug[131] por/[132]
byas te rting[133] pas[134] phur bu bzung[135]/
/oṃ[136] bhūrbhu ba[137] phaṭ/
de nas sor mo rgyab bsnol[138] te/
/mthe bong[139] gshib[140] pa'i chang[141] par gzhug[142]
/ōṃ[143] ha na ha na dībta tsakra[144] hūṃ phaṭ/
/drag tu brjod cing dril byas la[145]/ D57r; G118r
/bdag nyid sbyor ba'i[146] gzi byin kun/
/phur pa'i sku la rab[147] bzhugs[148] pa'i[149]/
/stong khams gang bar me stag 'phro/
/dmigs pa thams cad nges 'grub[150] pa'i[151]/

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117 nyungs: DRc nyung
118 'thon: MG thon
119 mtshams: TRN 'tshams
120 bstim: MGR bstims; TN stims
121 brlab: MG brlabs; TR rlab
122 thugs: R thuḍ
123 bskur: G skur
124 nas: TRN na
125 rgyab bsnol: TN rgyad snol; R brgyad snol
126 gshib: TR gzhib; N zhib
127 bsgrengs pa'i: TRN bsgreng ba'i
128 gzung: MG bzhugs; TRN bzung
129 ōṃ: MGTRN oṃ
130 sa twa rā dza: MG swa ta ra tsa; TRN sa ta ra tsa
131 phug: R pug; N bug
132 por/: D por (there is a line of dots from here to the foot of the page, where we find a marginal note or insertion/alternative reading: sug sug kyang); TRN po/
133 rting: MG sting
134 pas: MN bas
135 bzung: TRN gzung
136 oṃ: T ō
137 bhūrbhu ba: MG phur bu; TRN phur bu pa
138 rgyab bsnol: TRN brgyad snol
139 mthe bong: T the bo ba; R the bong ba; N the bong
140 gshib: MG gshibs; TRN gzhibs; Rc gshibs
141 chang; Rc 'chang (perhaps Rc is more "correct" here)
142 gzhug: MG bzhugs
143 ōṃ: MGRN oṃ
144 dībta tsakra: MG tib ta tsakra; TR tib ta tsa kra (R originally tsam for tsa, but deletion of final ma indicated by black dots above); N tib ta tsag kra; Rc tib ta tsak kra
145 la: N las
146 ba'i: TRN pa'i; Rc ba'i
147 rab: N rab tu
148 bzhugs: MG zhugs; Rc zhugs
149 pa'i: TRN pas
150 'grub: D grub
151 pa'i: MG par

/byin dang dbang chen ldan 'gyur[152] te/
/e yi gdan[153] la bzhugs gsol nas/
/brdeg[154] cing bdug ste[155] mchod pas mchod[156]/ T158v(316)
/ōṃ[157] badzra yaksha kro ta tshal[158] pa hūṃ phaṭ[159]/
/ōṃ[160] badzra hūṃ bai tā lī ha na ha na hūṃ[161]/
/sngags dang bcas pas[162] brdeg cing bdug[163]
/yid la brnag[164] pa'i 'phrin[165] las bcol/

152 'gyur: D gyur
153 yi gdan: T yigdan; N yi gdam
154 brdeg: R bdag
155 ste: T ste/
156 mchod: D mchod do
157 ōṃ: MGTRN oṃ
158 yaksha krodha tshal: D yaksha kro ta tshal; MG kro dha yag sha tshal; TR yag sha kro ta tshal; N yag sha kra ta tshal
159 phaṭ: MGTRN omit
160 ōṃ: MGRN oṃ
161 hūṃ bai tā lī ha na ha na hūṃ: MG kro dha du ma pe ta li ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ; TR du ma le ta li ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ; N du ma le ta li ha ha na hūṃ phaṭ
162 pas: TRN la
163 bcas pas brdeg cing bdug: MG bkas shing bdug cing brdeg
164 brnag: MG gnag
165 'phrin: D phrin

B: Passages parallel to the IOL Tib. J 331.III Consecrations section in Chapter 11 of the NGB's Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Phur pa bcu gnyis)

Sigla: **D** = sDe dge; **M** = mTshams brag; **R** = Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang norbu; **T** = gTing skyes; **K** = Kathmandu

This excerpt is from a simple diplomatic transcription, using D as the base text. The italicised phrases are those which have parallels in IOL Tib J 331.III.

sDe dge: Volume Pa 217r; mTshams brag: Volume Dza 904; gTing skyes: Volume Dza 109; Rig 'dzin: Volume Dza 49v; Kathmandu: Volume Ma 187v.

/padma las 'phros 'od dpung las/
/so so'i yig 'bru phyag mtshan[1] gyur/
/de las sku bzhengs 'jigs[2] pa'i tshul/[3] R50r
/sku stod zhal gcig phyag bzhi ste/
/sku smad sngo sangs[4] zur gsum pa/
/ral pa kham[5] nag gyen du 'bar/
/brang gis[6] 'gro ba chen pos brgyan/[7]
/phyag g.yas dang po sta re la/ K188r
/de 'og rdo rje rgya gram[8] bsnams/
/g.yon gyi dang po kha ṭwāṃ[9] 'khrol/[10]
/de 'og khro bo'i ske nas[11] 'dzin/
/de ni phur pa bskyed pa'o/
/byin gyis brlab pa[12] bstan pa ni/
/sngon la sku gsung thugs su[13] brlab/[14]
/sku yi[15] rdo rje sku yi[16]gnas/
/shin tu brjid par[17] byin gyis brlab/[18]
/gsung gi rdo rje gsung gi[19] gnas[20]/
/gdangs sgra grags par[21] byin gyis brlab/[22]
/thugs kyi rdo rje thugs kyi gnas/ M904

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1 mtshan: T 'tshan; R 'tshal
2 'jigs: TR 'jig
3 tshul/: MTRK gzugs/
4 sngo sangs: M sngo bsangs; T smo bsang; R sngo bangs; K sngo bsang
5 kham: TRK khams (T has final s subscripted)
6 gis: TRK gi
7 brgyan/: K rgyan/
8 gram: K grams
9 ṭwāṃ: TRK ṭwaṃ
10 'khrol/: R khrol/
11 ske nas: TRK skye gnas
12 brlab pa: M brlab par; TRK brlabs par
13 thugs su: TR thugsu
14 brlab/: K brlabs/
15 sku yi: TRK sku'i
16 sku yi: TR sku'i; K sku yis
17 M gap for three letters after par
18 brlab/: K brlabs/
19 gi: K gis
20 gnas: T final s subscripted
21 grags par: M drag por
22 brlab/: MTRK brlabs/

/zhe sdang rtse gcig ldan par brlab/[23]
/de nas rigs lnga[24] *byin brlabs ste/*[25]
/sku gsung thugs kyi[26] *yi ge gsum/* T110
/rang rang thugs kyi[27] *mtshan ma*[28] *gnas/*
/lte bar swā dang sked par hā/[29]
/rigs rnams 'dus pa'i[30] *ngo bor*[31] *brlab/*[32]
/de nas thugs nyid[33] *mi 'gyur ba/*
/ye shes gcig tu byin gyis brlabs/[34]
/logs gsum hūṃ gsum mi 'gyur rtags/[35]
/zur gsum phaṭ gsum 'joms pa'i rtags/
/de nas shin tu brtas[36] *pa dang/*[37]
/dzaḥ yi[38] dkyil 'khor gdon[39] pa dang/
/bdag nyid mdun na[40] gnas par brtag/[41]
/de nas rigs kyi[42] khro bos[43] ni/
/rang rang[44] so so'i dbang yang bskur/
/'chol par spros la[45] so sor bstim/
/hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ kyi[46] *sgra 'byin cing/*[47]
/rang rang rigs la[48] zhugs gyur[49] pas/
/dbang dang byin rlabs[50] thams cad[51] kun/
/de nyid la ni 'dus[52] thim bsam/[53] D217v
/de nas sngon gyi[54] dam tshig bsgrag/[55]

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23 brlab/: K brlabs/
24 lnga: MTRK lngar
25 brlabs ste/: MTR: brlab ste/; K brlabs ste/
26 kyi: K kyis
27 kyi: K kyis
28 ma: MTRK: mar
29 swā dang sked par hā/: D's sked par is smudged and indistinct; MTRK swa dang rkyen mchan (K:mtshan) ha/
30 'dus pa'i: R 'dul ba'i
31 bor: MTRK bo
32 brlab/: K brlabs/
33 nyid: TRK gnyis
34 brlabs/: MTR brlab/
35 rtags/: MTRK brtag/
36 brtas: MTRK rtas
37 dang/: MTRK yang/
38 dzaḥ yi: M dza yis; TR dzdza yis; K (unmetrically) dza dza yis
39 gdon: MTR 'don
40 na: K nas
41 brtag/: TRK btag/
42 kyi: K kyis
43 bos: K bo'i
44 rang: TRK re
45 la: MTRK pas
46 kyi: K gyis
47 cing/: K zhing/
48 la: K las
49 gyur: K 'gyur
50 rlabs: RK brlabs
51 thams cad: K thaṃd
52 'dus: MTRK bsdus
53 bsam/: R bsa/
54 gyi: K gyis
55 bsgrag/: MTRK bsgrags/

/de rjes bdag nyid chen por brlab/[56]
/lag pa g.yas pa'i mthil du la/[57]
/nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyur pa'i dkyil/[58]
/hūṃ bdag kun tu bzang po'i sku/
/g.yon pa[59] *a pas*[60] *zla dkyil bsam/*[61] R50v
/a bzhag kun tu bzang mo'i sku/[62]
/yab yum rjes su[63] chags pa las/ K188v
/byang chub sems kyi 'od byung ste/
/g.yas pa'i *gung mo'i*[64] *dkyil du oṃ/*
/de zhu rnam par snang mdzad sku/
/*mthe bong dkyil du hūṃ* gsal[65] las/ M905
/de las mi bskyod[66] pa yi[67] sku/
/*'dzub*[68] *mo'i dkyil du trāṃ*[69] bsams[70] la/
/de las rin chen 'byung ldan bskyed/
/srin lag dkyil du hrīḥ[71] bsams[72] la/
/de las don yod grub pa'o/
/mthe'u[73] *chung dkyil du āṃ*[74] bsams[75] te/[76]
/de las snang ba mtha' yas[77] bskyed/ T111
/kun kyang zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la'o/
/g.yon gyis[78] sor[79] mo rnams la yang/
/yi ge gong ma bsam pa 'am/[80]
/yang na yum lnga'i snying po las/
/yongs su[81] rdzogs par bskyed byas la/[82]
/rjes su[83] chags pa'i brda[84] yis bskul/
/thal mo mnyam par[85] *byas*[86] *nas ni/*

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56 por brlab/: K po brlabs/
57 la/: MTRK: ma/
58 dkyil/: K dbus/
59 pa: MTRK: par
60 pas: MTRK: las
61 zla dkyil bsam/: M zla ba'i dkyil/; TRK (unmetrically) zla ba'i dkyil 'khor/
62 sku/: MTRK mkha'/
63 rjes su: R rdzasu
64 mo'i: K ma'i
65 gsal: K bsam
66 bskyod: TK skyod
67 pa yi: TRK pa'i
68 'dzub: M mdzub
69 trāṃ: MTRK traṃ
70 bsams: K gsam
71 hrīḥ: MTRK hri
72 bsams: K bsam
73 mthe'u: TRK 'theb
74 āṃ: MTRK a
75 bsams: R bsams; K bsam
76 te/: MTRK: la/
77 yas: K las
78 gyis: M gyi
79 sor: K gsor
80 'am/: K pa'a/
81 yongs su: TRK yongsu
82 la/: T na/
83 rjes su: TRK rjesu
84 brda: R brda'

/oṃ dang badzra anydzali/[87]
/hūṃ zhes yongs su brjod nas ni/
/sor mo cung zad bsnol[88] *bar bya/*
/badzra ban dha[89] *hūṃ zhes brjod/*
/sor mo rgyab tu bsnol[90] *te bsdams/*[91]
/de nas sa ma ya stwāṃ[92] *zhes/*[93]
/brjod la[94] *phur pa lag tu*[95] *gzhug/*[96]
/lag pa'i rting pa[97] *rab phye ste/*
/mthe[98] *bong mthe'u*[99] *chung srin lag gsum/*
/dbus su[100] phur bcug 'dril[101] bar bya/
/oṃ dang[102] *badzra ā*[103] *be sha*[104]*/*
/ya[105] *dang a zhes brjod pas ni/*
/phyogs bcu dus gsum[106] *bde gshegs kyi/*[107]
/yab yum sras dang bcas pa yis/[108]
/zhe sdang rjes su[109] *dran pa'i sku/*
/yungs[110] *'bru grangs med phur par*[111] *bstim/*[112]
/de nas sku gsung thugs nyid kyi/[113]
/bdag nyid chen por dbang bskur te/
/sor mo rgyab tu bsnol[114] *nas ni/*
/gung gnyis bsgreng[115] *bar phur bu gzhug/*[116]
/oṃ dang badzra sa twa[117] *rā /*[118] M906

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85 mnyam par: MRK mnyam por; T nyam por
86 byas: MTRK: sbyar
87 anydzali/: MTRK a dza li/
88 bsnol: K snol
89 ban dha: M bandha; K bhan dha
90 bsnol: K snol
91 bsdams/: MTR bsdam/
92 stwāṃ: D's stwāṃ is followed by a space for one letter; MTRK stwaṃ
93 /: M omits the /, placing it two syllables ahead
94 M inserts /
95 tu: MTRK par
96 gzhug/: M gzhag byas la/, (M lengthening the phrase by two syllables, to compensate for the shortening caused by its misplaced shad after brjod la); R bzhugs/, K bzhug/
97 pa: RK par
98 mthe: TRK 'the
99 mthe'u: TRK 'theb
100 dbus su: T dbusu
101 'dril: MTRK dril
102 dang: K omits
103 ā: MTRK a
104 K inserts ya
105 ya: R yang
106 M dus gsum compressed
107 kyi/: K kyis/
108 yis/: MTRK rnams/
109 rjes su: TRK rjesu
110 yungs: K yung
111 par: MTRK la
112 bstim/: K stims/
113 kyi/: K kyis/
114 bsnol: K snol
115 bsgreng: K bsgrengs
116 gzhug/: M gzhag/; TR bzhugs/; K bzhug/

/dza hūṃ zhes ni brjod pa las/
/sras mchog bdag nyid thugs 'drar 'gyur/
/de nas sor mo thug[119] *por bya/* R51r
/lag pa'i rting pas phur bu bzung/[120]
/badzra phur bu[121] *zhes brjod pas/* D218r
/des[122] ni bdag dang gsung 'drar 'gyur/
/de nas sor mo brgyad[123] *bsnol te/* K189r
/mthe[124] *bong gshibs*[125] *pa'i* bar du ni/
/phur pa[126] bcug nas 'di skad brjod/
/oṃ dang tstshiṇḍa tstshiṇḍa[127] dang/ T112
/ha na ha na tista [128] *dang/*
/tsakra hūṃ zhes rab *brjod* pas/
/bdag nyid yab yum byang chub[129] sems/
/rab tu spro[130] zhing de la[131] bstim/[132]
/stong khams gang ba'i me stag 'phro/
/dmigs pa thams cad[133] *nges 'grub pa'i/*
/byin dang dbang chen ldan gyur[134] *te/*
/gsang ba yum gyi[135] dbus *bzhugs gsol/*[136]
/gu gul nag po'i[137] *dud pas*[138] *bdug/*[139]
/yungs[140] *nag khro chung rgyal pos*[141] *brdeg/*

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117 twa: TRK ta
118 rā /: MTRK ra/
119 thug: TRK phug; M sug
120 bzung/: K gzungs/ (final s subscripted)
121 badzra phur bu: Most other sources give variants of om bhur bu ba in such a context (i.e. oṃ bhūr bhuva, famous in India as the opening of the Gayatri, or Vyāhṛti). Hence we think it likely that the badzra phur bu shared by all our editions here arises from an error in an archetype. See Chapter 5 above, p.80 notes 39 and 40, and note also that in the *Myang 'das*, the sDe dge edition alone gives bhūrbhu ba, while the other editions give, phur bu or phur bu pa.
122 des: TRK de
123 brgyad: MTRK rgyab
124 mthe: R 'the
125 gshibs: K gshib
126 pa: K bu
127 tstshiṇḍa tstshiṇḍa: MTR tsin dha tsin dha; K tshin dha (haplography)
128 tista: (for *dīpta*); MTR tipta; K tibta
129 byang chub: MTRK sbyor ba'i
130 spro: MTRK sbyor
131 la: MTRK ltar
132 bstim/: K stim/
133 thams cad: K thaṃd
134 gyur: MTRK 'gyur
135 gyi: K gyis
136 bzhugs gsol/: K bzhugsol/
137 po'i: TR pos
138 pas: T final s subscripted
139 bdug/: K 'dug/
140 yungs: TRK yung
141 pos: K po'i

7 IOL Tib J 754 Section 7: A Set of Notes on Phur pa Ritual and its Significance[1]

The Context for the text

IOL Tib J 754 Section 7[2] consists of a section of Tibetan writing on a single side of a scroll. It does not appear to be directly connected with the other parts of IOL Tib J 754, which include Chinese manuscript fragments, although it is perfectly possible that the other Tibetan tantric instructions on the same side of the scroll (Sections 6 and 8–9) were written down by the same scribe, and they seem to have some links in terms of content. However, the beautifully executed Chinese text which is written on the other side of the thick paper on which our Tibetan tantric texts are written, clearly does not have any bearing on our text at all.[3] The same applies to the first five Tibetan sections of IOL Tib J 754 (as well as the Chinese sections which are interspersed with the Tibetan writing), all relating to, "letters of introduction for a Chinese Buddhist monk proceeding towards India" (Dalton in Dalton and van Schaik 2005). It would seem that our scribe – or scribes – was re-using a Chinese scroll, to write on its blank verso side. The entire scroll was later attached, with the Tibetan writing face down – perhaps as a backing – to strengthen the series of pilgrim's letters.[4]

The paper for the Tibetan tantric manuscript with the Chinese text on the reverse is thick and largely free from any disintegration, apart from the upper section where it is in parts very thin and some layers are missing.[5] Measuring the Tibetan tantric manuscript side of the scroll, the width is approximately 254 mm, slightly narrowing at the upper edge, but this may be purely due to the damage at the top of the first sheet. The total length of the scroll is hard to assess accurately, since the individual sheets which had been stuck together have been separated, but Dalton and van Schaik (2006: 321) give a figure of 286 cm. There is some discolouring of the paper and the right and left edges are slightly ragged and torn in parts, although it is only at the top where the ink writing is washed out, and very little is lost at the edges. There are also a number of blemishes, such as vertically running wavy lines and crease marks of variable length – possibly the result of the scroll having been stuck to the sheet of letters – and a few small holes. However, except for the very upper part, the writing is mostly clearly legible.

Section 6, which begins the same side of our scroll, gives meditation instructions for a sādhana on red Avalokiteśvara with white Pāṇḍaravāsinī and their retinue of offering goddesses in the eight directions, and wrathful deities at the four doors. The upper edge of the scroll is torn away and the first few lines are virtually illegible, as mentioned above. Thus, the beginning of the text is missing, but the rest seems intact. It deals with the visualisation of the maṇḍala, describing the seed syllables, radiating and re-absorbing light rays, and the build-up of the Palace and the deities. Continuing with brief instructions for the mantra recitation, it ends with a mention of the various supplementary sections which may be done, such as invitations, offerings, confessions, aspirational prayers, and the concluding rituals such as the maṇḍala dissolution.

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1 In this chapter, we are re-working our earlier study of this text (Mayer and Cantwell 1994).

2 This location is according to Dalton and van Schaik 2006; in the current IDP catalogue, it has now been re-labelled 754(b) Section 2, while in the earlier India Office numbering system it was classified as pp.81–82. The sections of the original scroll marked as 81 and 82 have been separated into separate sheets (by the IOL). Originally, the scroll was made up from separate panels stuck together. Our text begins after a small gap following the first line of sheet 81, containing the closing line of the previous text, given as Section 6 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 323–4.

3 See the relevant section of the catalogue by Kazuo Enoki (1962 *Chinese Manuscript Fragments* Oxford, Oxford University Press) on the IDP website (http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_cat.a4d?shortref=Enoki_1962&catno=C1,C98,C121).

4 Sam van Schaik of the British Library is currently studying these letters; the idea that the scroll with the tantric texts on one of its sides, written on stronger paper, had been used as a backing for the letters, is his current hypothesis.

5 In fact, some or even all of the missing parts are found still stuck to the reverse of the letters of passage to which the scroll was orginally attached. When removed, it seems that a layer of paper, with some of the Tibetan writing, remained on the back of the other sheet.

After Section 7's Phur pa text, the following Section 8 is an interesting commentarial text on tantric imagery and ritual. It begins with comments on the component parts of the name, *dpal rdo rje sems dpa'*, leading on to the text's longest section, on the tantric feast offering, the *tshogs kyi 'khor lo* (Skt. *gaṇacakra*). Appropriate offering substances are discussed, and it is made clear that the term, *tshogs*, refers both to the offerings and to the assembly of practitioners and the deities they visualise. Much is made of the importance of the participation of both male and female practitioners, and the exclusion of trouble makers and those who degenerate samaya. These are familiar themes in tantric ritual, especially in the context of *tshogs* celebrations. They are expressed using interesting categories, which seem a little reminiscent of Klong chen pa's terms in his commentary on the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra.[6] There are then a few lines on body, speech and mind consecrations through taking in seed syllables onto the tongue from the fingers dipping into the lotus vessel, and subsequent meditations on the three buddhas. This is followed by an elaboration of the procedure for dissolving the deity visualisation, through a sequence of the outer parts in turn dissolving into light and being absorbed inwards, into oneself, into the jñānasattva in the heart, the vajra in the jñānasattva's heart, and the seed syllable, hūṃ, which dissolves into its dot, and then disappears entirely. Finally, there are sections describing the practices of "union" (*sbyor ba*) and "liberation" (*sgrol ba*), but although the imagery would seem to conjure up some of the the characteristic features of tantric *sbyor ba*, the *sgrol ba* section gives no hint of the type of *liberating killing* rites we find in the Phur pa rituals above (see above, Ch. 1 p.6-9).

Section 9 is just over two lines of instruction and mantras, too brief to be certain whether it is simply part of a conclusion for Section 8 or the opening of a new text.

The three parts of the sheet – Section 6, Section 7, and Section 8–9 – have slightly differently sized and shaped letters. However, once one takes into account considerations of time and hastiness in writing, and the use of a thicker pen for Section 7, there are similarities in the execution of the letters throughout the scroll and in the instances of scribal lapses such as dittographies of single letters. Thus, it seems quite possible, although by no means certain, that the whole sheet may have been written by one hand. Section 7 on Phur pa ritual is less neatly written with larger letters and more errors and corrections, suggesting relative haste (and a thicker nib), and/or possibly the taking of notes from oral teaching, rather than the copying of a written text, as we already suggested in Mayer and Cantwell 1994: 54.[7] This would also fit with the apparent change in topic at the end of the section, which may be suggestive of a new subject in an oral teaching rather than an ordered composition.

It is possible that the instructions in Sections 6 to 9 have been deliberately put together. What seems interesting is that – similarly to IOL Tib J 331 – the texts which preceed and follows ours have classic components of *Mahāyoga* meditative deity ritual practice, both, for instance, including exegesis on dissolving the deity's seed syllable, while our Phur pa text lacks these. Instead, it begins with the ritual activities which in the standard Vajrakīlaya corpus are classified as part of the secondary or subsidiary ritual (*smad las*), aimed at overcoming obstacles, rather than the principal ritual (*stod las*) focused on the deity visualisation and accomplishment. Vajrakīlaya is often conceived of as a wrathful dimension of Vajrasattva, and this would seem to be reflected in the treatment of the Phur pa rituals in IOL Tib J 331, where they might

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6 The three types of "*tshogs*" listed here are: *mang mo 'dus pa'I tshogs*; *rgyu rkyen bsags pa'I tshogs* (note that the gloss makes it clear that this has nothing to do with the accumulation of causes in an ethical or karmic sense, but rather concerns the items needed for the feast offering); *dbyings rnam par dag pa'I tshogs*. Klong chen pa (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* Vol. La: 402; see also Dorje 1988: 924ff) speaks of four types of "*tshogs*": 1) The assembly of the meritorious ones who gather (*skal ldan 'dus pa'i tshogs*); 2) the assembly of the items (they) have obtained (*'byor ldan yo byad kyi tshogs*); 3) the assembly of the deities (bringing?) siddhis (*dngos grub lha'i tshogs*); 4) the assembly of merit (and) primordial wisdom (*bsod nams ye shes kyi tshogs*). However, the root tantra's Chapter 11 on which Klong chen pa is commenting, does not speak in these terms (mTshams brag NGB Vol. Wa: 186–190).

7 Clearly, if it is the same hand as that in the other sections, here, the scribe is using a thicker pen, and writing in large hasty writing without properly ruling the lines.

have some connection at least to the first of the two texts on Vajrasattva (IOL Tib J 331.I). In IOL Tib J 754, it is rather Avalokiteśvara whose maṇḍala visualisation forms the backdrop to our text.

Introduction to the text

As noted above, the text or text fragment suggests a set of notes on the Phur pa practice rather than a polished text, or even a single structured text of any kind. Reference is made in the first lines to a "Kilaya tantra", suggesting that some formal Phur pa scripture was in existence at this time and familiar to the author. Despite the text's appearance as a personal *aide-mémoire*, it does, nonetheless, have a definite beginning with a homage to the Three Jewels and a following title introducing the subject matter. There is no explicit structure to the content but it can be divided roughly into five sequential sections:

(1) Description of the *phur bu* ritual implement. This does not seem quite to correspond to the generally standard form of the rounded head, upper knot, eight facetted shaft, lower knot and triangular blade.[8] Nonetheless, many variations in *phur bu* designs are found, and the elements mentioned include features important for the Phur pa traditions – the head knot, the three-sided blade. Consistent with Phur pa tantras, the other Dunhuang manuscripts, and later commentaries and practice rites, maṇḍala deities are associated with the specific parts of the *phur bu*. There may not be an exact equivalence for the figures mentioned here, although the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 8 also mentions deities of the four families at lotus petals around each of the four sides below the upper knot. The principle, however, is constant across our various sources – the central Lord is meditated on usually within the upper (or occasionally the middle section), while the maṇḍala deities are linked with features appropriate for their positions in the maṇḍala relative to each other, with the lower status and protective deities found comparatively lower on the *phur bu*.

(2) The buddha body, speech and mind consecrations of the *phur bu*. This resembles the *Guhyasamāja* traditions, and repeats the mantras for each as found in many of our Phur pa tantras and other sources.[9]

(3) Rituals for overcoming and liberating the obstacles. This is the longest section of the text. Its opening line hints at the technique of consecrating through the five families, which we have found elsewhere. In this meditation, the male and female deities, visualised at the fingers of the right and left hands, unite as the hands close around the *phur bu*.[10] The line here merely refers to the two hands as means and wisdom, and placing the *phur bu* between them, but at the very least it is quite likely to conjure the imagery of the male and female union serving to consecrate the *phur bu*. In a version of the rite found in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, much is made of the productions of the union – miniature wrathful ones. In this case, the line would appear to link the consecrations section above, which is presumably principally concerned with consecrating the *phur bu* itself, and this section on activities carried out by messengers who are sent forth.

The four female messengers mentioned here would seem to be related to the four female door keepers (*sgo ma bzhi*), who are said to guard the four doors of the maṇḍala palace in virtually all full Phur pa practices.[11] The first carries an iron hook, the second a noose, the third carries iron chains and the fourth

[8] In Mayer and Cantwell 1994: 57, we pointed out that the description would fit if one were to assume a scribal error (if *sor* brgyad was intended to read, *zur* brgyad). However, as we also mentioned in that article, there is no need to assume this; the text as it reads makes perfectly coherent sense and is not incongruous with other Phur pa sources. Eight inches is one of the lengths given as appropriate in sources such as the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 or the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 10.

[9] See the discussion of this Chapter 5, p.81 above. It is worth noting that the versions of these mantras found in IOL Tib J 754 are rather closer to the *Guhyasamāja* root text (including, for instance, the "tshin d(h)a tshin d(h)a" and "da ha da ha" components of the body consecration mantra) than IOL Tib J 331 is. They also follow the same order (body, speech and mind), rather than the order of mind, speech and body, which is found in IOL Tib J 331.III.

[10] See the discussion of this in Chapter 5, p.75, 80-83 above.

[11] Their positions in the maṇḍala, the symbolic implements they hold in their hands, and the names sometimes given to them which derive from these implements, are in continuity with the door keepers of the maṇḍala of the influential early tantra of the Yoga

carries a bell.[12] The four activities visualised as enacted by the four female messengers here correspond closely to those which are often associated with the four door keepers, and also with the set of the four ritual implements concerned, which occur in this sequence in a number of ritual contexts. The main slight difference is that the fourth activity is described as suppressing (*mnan pa*), while in the more usual set, the wording generally indicates that the obstacles are driven mad, intoxicated, or paralyzed.[13] However, there is not complete consistency across all sources, and to a large extent the activity depends of the specific context. For instance, in the *Sa skya Phur chen* cycle, the four door keepers are described in the context of the main deity generation as engendering the unification of the visualised deity with its wisdom nature, by summoning the jñānasattva, causing it to enter, binding and generating delight (in the union).[14] Later in the same source, in the context of praising and enjoining the maṇḍala deities, they are requested to summon the hostile forces and obstacles, to bind their limbs, bind their sense organs, and smash them to dust.[15] Clearly, our description in this text is a close parallel which would be instantly recognisable to practitioners of later Phur pa practices. The implication in the context of this rite is that the messengers force the hostile forces into an effigy as a preliminary to the actual rite of striking the effigy with a *phur bu*.[16]

The next ritual section, then, begins with rolling the *phur bu*, a classic recurring image in Phur pa rites, performed with the hands held above the effigy in front, before the effigy is actually stabbed with the *phur bu*. Here again (see above), we find mention of the union of means and wisdom, a clear reference to the joining and rubbing together of the hands around the *phur bu*. Just as in the *Sa skya Phur chen* example discussed above, this ritual action brings about the production of wrathful emanations. We also have a mention of "great compasssion", another immediately identifiable feature of the tradition of Phur pa rites, where the liberating killing (*sgrol ba*) is always said to be necessarily motivated by compassion for the beings afflicted by their severely negative defilements. The Mahāyāna stress on the linking of such compassion with wisdom is once more reiterated in the connection between the compassion and the resulting primordial wisdom light.

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class, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Snellgrove 1987: 139–140). Their mantras are given in the *rTsa ba'i dum bu* (see the text in Boord 2002: 84), and in the *'Bum nag* and other Phur pa traditions, their positions are described (Boord 2002: 186; *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Volume Da: 105; *Sa skya Phur chen* 21v–22r). One of their symbolic significances is that they represent the four boundless states (*tshad med bzhi*), loving kindness, compassion, joy and equanimity (Boord 2002: 190; *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* (Volume Da: 118).

12 It is also worth noting that the male Great Wrathful Ones positioned at the four doors of the maṇḍala of Avalokiteśvara described in the text above, share three out of four of these implements. Yamāntaka (gShIn rje 'joms) carries an iron vajra hook; Mahābala (sTobs po che) holds a noose, while Hayagrīva (rTa mgrIn) and Amṛtakuṇḍalī (bDud rtsI 'khyIl pa) respectively carry iron chains and a sword. See also the ritual description in IOL Tib J 331.III (Ch. 6 above, p.112-113), where the activities and the appropriate mudrās are listed but the particular messengers are not specified apart from the mention of, "innumerable goddesses with iron-hooks" (*lha mo lcags kyu can grangs myed pa*, 7r-7v).

13 See, for instance Khenpo Namdrol 1999: 57. In the *smad las* section of the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* cycle (Volume Tha: 458), the fourth messenger with the bell is referred to as, "myos byed chen mo".

14 "mdun gyi ye shes ba sgo ma bzhis rang la dgugs gzhug bcings mnyes byas par bsam" (*Sa skya Phur chen*: 16v). The imagery is largely common to numerous *Mahāyoga* practices, where the arrival of a deity may be visualised with the recitation of the seed syllables, "jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ", with appropriate mudrās. The implements are specified in another Dunhuang manuscript, IOL Tib J 332, which associates itself with the *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba* literature: "'dza huṃ pang ho zhes brjod pas/ /ma chags pa'i ting nge 'dzin las/ chags pa'i yid g.yos par bsams te/ /'dza lcags kyus ni bzung/ hūng zhags pas ni 'khril/ pam lcags sgrogs kyis bsdams/ /ho dril bus dgyes par bskyod pas/ /byang chub kyi sems yum gyi mkha' la bab ste/ /'di skad ces brjod par bya'o/ (folio 3v.6–7, 4th image in the IDP catalogue; there is a similar reference also on folio 8r.6–7).

15 "/mthar byed chen mo sgo ma bzhi/ /snying nas drongs shig lcags kyu ma/ /yan lag chings shig zhags pa ma/ /dbang po sdoms shig lcags sgrogs ma/ /rdul du rlogs shig dril bu ma/" (*Sa skya Phur chen*: 42v).

16 This is precisely the context in the case of the four messengers described in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri smad las* mentioned above, where the messengers' role in generating and summoning the object (*dmigs bya bskyed 'gugs*) preceeds the main rite of liberating killing (*sgrol chog dngos*).

As in IOL Tib J 331.III, the mantra for the destructive activities carried out by the wrathful emanations is clearly a variant of a mantra from the *Guhyasamāja*'s Chapter 14, used widely in Phur pa rites at the moment of striking or stabbing with the *phur bu*.[17]

The following meditation is a further constant feature of the Phur pa tradition in virtually all its expressions: the idea that the object for the rite of liberating killing can be divided into two aspects. The body – or in some sources, the first four of the skandhas – is utterly destroyed, but the consciousness is to be liberated. In the more elaborate rituals, there may be visualisations of the consciousness passing up through the *phur bu* and transferred up to a buddha field where it is brought to enlightenment. In this case, the meditation suggests a simple focus on realising the real nature of the mind.

The ritual is concluded with a contemplation on protecting the body through creating the boundaries of the vajra enclosure. Generally, rituals for erecting the vajra boundary around the maṇḍala and expelling obstacles are performed at the outset of the ritual practice, not only in the case of sādhanas focusing on Vajrakīlaya, but also for other tantric cycles. In the case of major monastic practice sessions or individual retreats, these boundary creation rites may be very elaborate and include various stages (see, for instance, Cantwell 1989: 231–236). Some element of re-creation of the protective maṇḍala may, however, be present during the re-arising of the deity in the final stages of a sādhana following the dissolution phase, after which the sense of the continuing presence of the deity should be present in post-meditation activities. In this case, one may meditate on one's body entirely covered by the protective vajra armour.[18] More explicit focus on the re-establishment of the protective maṇḍala in the closing sections is a feature of many secondary ritual (*smad las*) expelling rites, and this may be interpreted as a precaution against the destructive ritual back-firing on a practitioner with inadequate realisation.[19] The mention of the protection of the body in Tib J 754 might seem suggestive of the dissolution phase meditation, but the employment of a mantra focusing on the obstacles is more similar to the main rituals for constructing the maṇḍala boundaries and perhaps also with the conclusion of *smad las* rites.

We have not found an equivalent for the mantra given here for suppressing obstacles. As we earlier suggested (Mayer and Cantwell 1994: 61–2), it is possible that the rather unclearly written syllables, pra ban tsa ka, might indicate a word deriving from the Sanskrit root, bhañj, which means to crush or defeat. The *Tattvasaṃgraha*'s Chapter 6 contains a similar mantra, for "all the Mothers".[20]

(4) Teaching on the four *mahāmudrā*s (*phyag rgya chen po bzhi*). The final two sections of the text, on the four *mahāmudrā*s and the three purities, seem to be quite closely related to each other. Neither correspond precisely with similar classifications found elsewhere in the Phur pa literature. In fact, despite the fact that this portion of the text is written in the same hand and in the same handwriting style as the *phur bu* ritual material above, it is quite possible – in the context, moreover, of a set of notes which are linked to other rather separate instructions on tantric ritual written out before and after this text – that there is a change of topic here. This might be indicated by the fact that this section begins after an ornamental punctuation mark containing three vertically arranged circles, enclosed by two *shad*. The other ornamental punctuation marks contain only two vertically arranged circles, suggesting that this marks a more significant break. The four *mahāmudrā*s as given here are body (*sku*), dharma (*chos*), samaya (*dam tshig*), and karma (*las*). They represent a slight re-working of the classic Yoga tantra set of four *mudrā*s, consisting of *mahāmudrā*,

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17 See Chapter 5, p.84-85, Chapter 6, p.114-115, Chapter 7, p.144, Chapter 8, p.161, and Chapter 9, p.174-175 (and Mayer 2004: 156–160).

18 See the discussion on this in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* cycle: *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 147, and *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*, Volume Da: 139. The *Sa skya Phur chen* is not dissimilar (77v).

19 See Cantwell 1989: REN 32–33. The *smad las* text of the Dudjom *rDo rje Gro lod* cycle notes that the vajra master should suppress and repel any remaining [negative force], meditating on the protection maṇḍala, in order to cut off any trace of the weapon ("mthar zor rjes gcod pa'i phyir srung 'khor bsgom la slob dpon gyis rting mnan ste ldog" Volume Ba: 310).

20 *oṃ heruka vajrasamaya sarvaduṣṭasamayamudrāprabhañjaka hūṃ phaṭ.* Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for this information.

dharmamudrā, *samayamudrā*, and *karmamudrā*, with body mudrā taking the place of the first category, and the term, *mahāmudrā*, being used as a description for the group as a whole. In Dudjom Rinpoche's explanation of the four (Dudjom 1991: 356), the first is, in fact, referred to as the "body *mahāmudrā*" (*sku phyag chen*), since the four *mudrā*s are in turn associated with body, speech, mind and activities. In the list in our text, the association of *samayamudrā* and the mind may not seem quite so obvious as the other mudrās with body, speech and activities respectively. But as Dudjom makes clear, the realisation in this stage is associated with discerning sameness (*mnyam nyid*), and it is quite likely that the unification of vajra and lotus is here intended to indicate this mental realisation. In the later tradition, this set of four *mudrā*s may also occur with similar connotations in *Mahāyoga* contexts, although they do not seem at all prominent in any Phur pa texts.[21]

(5) Teaching on the three purities (*dag pa rnam gsum*). Even more than the four mudrā classification, sets of the three purities are variable in different Buddhist systems. In Mahāyāna contexts, they relate to the emptiness of actor, the object of the action and the action itself. In tantric contexts, there is a clear distinction between *Kriyā* and *Mahāyoga* understandings of the three purities. In *Kriyā*, there is a focus on different aspects of the deity's purity, that of the deity and maṇḍala, that of the substances, and that of the meditations (Dudjom 1991: Volume 1, 35, 295–6, 349; Volume 2, 119). *Mahāyoga*'s different view, emphasising the identity of the practitioner and the deity from the outset, uses the set of the three purities to refer to the inherent purities of the inanimate and animate worlds, along with the purity of all components of the mind continuum (Dudjom 1991: Volume 1, 275–6; Volume 2, 119). The interesting point is that the presentation in this text is distinctive and seems to owe little or nothing to these standard formulations. As noted above, it seems rather to add a further gloss on the lines before which deal with the four mahāmudrās. It would appear that the first purity reiterates the first mahāmudrā, that the second purity corresponds with the third mahāmudrā (the reference to "an attractive girl" meditated on as a goddess, might indicate the practice of *union* [Tib. *sbyor ba*], the counterpart of *sgrol ba*), while the third purity corresponds with the fourth mahāmudrā. There is, however, a resemblance to the transmitted *Anuyoga* system of the Three Maṇḍalas (*dkyil 'khor rnam pa gsum*): the primordial maṇḍala of Samantabhadrī (*ye ji bzhin pa'i dkyil 'khor*), the natural and spontaneously present maṇḍala of Samantabhadra (*rang bzhin lhun grub kyi dkyil 'khor*), and their offspring, the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind (*rtsa ba byang chub kyi sems kyi dkyil 'khor*) (Dorje and Kapstein in Dudjom Rinpoche 1991 Volume 2: 115–116).

We have also not located any parallel to this specific comment on the three purities in the Phur pa literature so far, although that need not mean that it is not found there. However, as noted above, it may be that the Phur pa section of the manuscript was completed before the commencement of the discussion of the four mahāmudrās. The threefold purity is not a classification which seems to occur frequently in Phur pa texts: it receives no mention, for instance, in the influential *'Bum nag* commentary. We find one reference to the set in Chapter 17 of the *Myang 'das*, with no explanation, although from the context, the *Mahāyoga* connotations may well be intended. There is far more interest in Phur pa texts in a concept of "complete purity" or "complete purities" (*rnam dag*/ *rnam par dag pa*), which are an equivalent to the *Mahāyoga* set in that the stress is on inherent purity, and equating aspects of the phenomenal world and one's own experience with aspects of the deity and the maṇḍala.[22] Undoubtedly, we have a similar intention in the presentation

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[21] The *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 21 refers to, "four mahāmudrās", but this is only in the context of ritual activity, where they appear to be associated with the actions of summoning, tying up, binding by samaya and bringing under control. There is a similar mention of "four mudrās" in the *rDo rje khros pa*'s Chapter 10, specifying that the sphere of the four mudrās is in summoning. Other references to one or the other of the categories occur in some of the Phur pa practice texts, and on occasion, would seem rather closer in meaning, although not presented as a set. For instance, we may find discussion of the deity's "body mudrā" which clearly refers to meditating on oneself as the deity, or of the samaya mudrā, through which one may be consecrated in non-duality (*bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*, Volume Da: 113–119).

[22] Chapter 16 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* concerns a list of complete purities, equating the complete purity of the skandhas with the five Buddhas, of various limbs of the body with different deity forms, the negative emotions with the animal-headed emanations and so forth. In very similar vein in the practice traditions, the *rgyun khyer* section of the *Phur pa rGyud lugs* consists almost

here, especially in the case of the first two purities, on which the text's comment is clear that the practitioner should generate a pure vision of themselves and of the consort. The two final sections, then, illustrate the tantric context in which the Phur pa material is located here, but do not necessarily form part of the exegesis of the Phur pa ritual itself.

The Text

Note on the handwriting. The style of writing is essentially *dbu can*, but with some features of *dbu med*. For instance, the letters ta, ba, the tsa/tsha 'phru, a chung, ra, attached la and the zhabs kyu are generally written in an *dbu med* style; while nga, nya, da, na, and ha are mid-way between an *dbu can* and *dbu med* style. The letters da and ra frequently resemble each other, and occasionally, even na appears to be written like the da.

Spelling conventions: there are some archaisms such as attached ya (eg dmyigs) and reversed gi gu (which is used about half the time). In some cases, the main letter da is found where we would expect ta, eg. brdags, gdogs. There is also some inconsistency in the spellings of Sanskrit mantras, and typically for a Dunhuang tantric manuscript, we find departures from what became the conventional Tibetan spellings. For instance, in this case, it is noticable that the element of the mantra indicating the deity is rendered as, *kyi* la ya (rather than kī la ya or ki la ya).

(1)[23] $//dkon mchog gsum[24] phyag 'tshal lo/
[I] prostrate [to] the three Jewels!

/ki la[25] ya 'I las ⁼[26] bya ba nI/
The performance of Kīlaya Ritual.

bdag (2) phyag rgya chen por gsal bar bsgoms de/
[Having] clearly meditated on oneself as the *mahāmudrā* and

/kI la ya 'I rgyud brdags[27] (3) la mgo rgya mdud ma gdogs[28] par bar/ /sor brgyad par bgyI/
studied the Kīlaya tantra, [the *phur bu*] is to be made eight inches [in length] up to and not including the head knot.

/zur bzhi (4) rtse mo zur gsum/ gzhan zlum[29] po/
[It should have] four sides [and] a three-sided blade, or otherwise [be] rounded.

entirely of a recitation which systematically goes through the components of the body and mental faculties, each revealed as some aspect of the maṇḍala ('Jigs med gling pa, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma*, Volume Ja: 189–191). The *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* commentary on the main recitation practice stresses the importance of recollection of complete purity/purities (*rnam dag dran pa*), in the context of which a long discussion of the symbolic significance of the various features of the maṇḍala is introduced (*bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*, Volume Da: 113, 115–119). Here and elsewhere in *Mahāyoga* Generation Stage visualisation practices (eg Khenpo Namdrol 1999: p.59–65), "recollection of complete purity" constitutes the third in a threefold set of instructions, following "complete clarity" (*rnam pa gsal ba*) in the visualisation and "firm pride" (*nga rgyal brtan pa*) that one is the deity.

23 The line numbers are given in brackets. The numbers given here begin with this text fragment, which is the second item on this side of the scroll, commencing after a horizontal fold across the sheet.

24 the expected syllable la is omitted.

25 written underneath the line, with a dot above the line, presumably indicating insertion.

26 it is uncertain what letter has been deleted here, but it is possibly a dittographically written letter sa.

27 brdags = brtags?

28 gdogs = gtogs?

29 attached la is not very clearly formed, but the intention seems clear.

/rgya mdud kyi steng du bdag gi lha gang[30] (5) bsgom pa'I snying po/
Above the knot, the essence [syllable] meditated [on for] the Lord's temple,

/ngos bzhir rigs bzhi snyi=ng[31] po/
at the four sides, the essence [syllables for] the four families,

/zur bzhir yum (6) bzhi snying po/
at the four corners, the essence [syllables for] the four consorts,

/ma zur bzhi la lha mo bzhi snying po/
at the four lower corners, the essence [syllables for] the four goddesses,

/so sor dgod/
are to be established individually.

(7) kI la ya byin kyis rlabs pa'I phyir/
For the Kīlaya consecration,

skus byin kyis rlab pa'I snying pa'I//
the (buddha) body consecration essence [mantra is]:

(8) ōm tshin dha tshin dha da ha da ha ha na ha na/ tIb ta tsag kra hum phad/
ōṃ chindha chindha daha daha hana hana/ dīpta cakra hūṃ phaṭ.

gsung gis[32] byin (9) kyis rlabI[33] sngags dhri ōm bhur bu ba/
the [buddha] speech consecration essence [mantra is]: dhri ōm bhur bu ba (dhri/hrīḥ ōṃ bhūr bhuva).

thugs kyis byin kyis rlab pa'I sngags//
(10) ōm badzra ra tsa hung/
the [buddha] mind consecration essence [mantra is]: ōm badzra ra tsa hung (oṃ vajra rāja hūṃ).

snying po 'dI rnam lan nyI shu rtsa re re bzla/
These essence [mantras] are to be recited twenty times each.

/lag pa g.yas (11) nI thabs/ g.yon nI shes bar gnyis gyI bar du bcug ~~la~~[34] ste/
The right hand is means, the left is wisdom; [it] is put in between the two [of them], and

/gang la bya ba (12) la/
for whosoever is the [rite's] object,

lcags skyu 'I pho nyas bgyegs kyi snying po nas drangs te/ 'gugs thag (13)[35] gcad par bsam/
think that the iron hook messenger drags [these] obstacles by the heart, and resolutely summons [them].

[30] lha gang = lha khang?
[31] letter deleted before final nga.
[32] smudging over gi gu, but the original intention seems clear.
[33] most likely an abbreviation for rlab pa'I, as in the phrases above and below.
[34] la crossed through with a single stroke.
[35] Here we continue after a horizontal crease across the sheet.

/mngon gsum dang 'dra bar ~~da~~[36] dmyigs ste/ /zhags (14) pas bcing/
Focusing on [them] as though [they are] actually present, think that [they] will be bound by the noose,

lcag sgrog tu bcug/ dril bus ~~na~~[37]mnan par bsam/
put in iron chains, and suppressed by the bell.

/de nas (15) kyi la ya dril ba'I tshe/
Then, at the time for rolling Kīlaya,

thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel ba'I bar nas/ :/[38]
from between the means and wisdom conjoined,

(16) thugs rje chen po 'I dbang las/
through the force of great compassion,

/ye shes kyI 'od zer byung ste/
think that primordial wisdom light rays arise and

/s[p]rul[39] (17) pa'I 'phro['(/l)]u[40] sna tshogs su bsam/
radiate out varied miniature emanations.

/sngags la ōm gā gā ga ta yā/(18) sa rba du sh[ṭha][41] na phad//kyI la ya kyI la ya/ sa rba pa pam na phad huṃ huṃ badzra (19) kI la yā/ ba dzra da ro ad nya pa yā tI [bha~~u~~]g[42] =[43] tsi tā~~i~~[44] ba dzra kI la ya (20) huṃ huṃ phat phat ces ~~brjod~~ zlas ste/ gdab/
For the mantra, recite, "ōṃ gha gha ghātaya/ sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ/ /kīlaya kīlaya/ sarva pāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīlaya/ vajradhara ājñāpayati *bhag*[45] cittam vajrakīlaya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ", and strike!

/khro bo 'i sprul pas ~~lus~~ (21) bgeg kyi lus drul[46] phran bzhin bshigs/
By the wrathful one's emanations, the bodies of the obstacles are pulverised as though [reduced] to dust.

/sems rnam par thar (22) pa'I mchog gI snying po la bgod/
[Their] mind[s] are established[47] in the essence of complete liberation.

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36 letter da, appears to have been scribbled out (a probable dittography noticed by the scribe).
37 na crossed through with a single stroke.
38 here there is a kind of ornamental punctuation mark, consisting of two small vertically arranged circles followed by a shad.
39 the letter pa is a little smudged and unclear, but the shape seems consistent with sprul below.
40 it seems most likely that 'phro'u is intended; there is a light stroke apparently making the "'a" into "la", but it was probably a slip of the pen.
41 attached ṭha is slightly uncertain, but the shape is consistent with the clearer instance of du shṭha below.
42 letter ba slightly smudged; there is a clearly written zhabs kyu but it appears to have been deleted with a single short stroke.
43 letter entirely scribbled out; it appears to be a dittographically written tsa.
44 gi gu clearly written, but it appears to have been deleted with a single stroke.
45 bhag = vak? There would seem to be an omission of kāya in front of "bhag". Some versions of this mantra elsewhere also add "sarba bighnān" following ājñāpayati (see Chapter 8 Appendix below, p.162-163 and Mayer 2004: 157–160), although this is not found in IOL Tib J 331.III (see above Ch. 6, p.115).
46 drul: quite probably, dul is intended, and what appears to be an attached ra may be intended as part of the *zhabs kyu*.
47 bgod could signify that their minds are *allotted* to liberation, but it seems more likely that bgod here is for dgod, especially since it also occurs below, where dgod would be the expected verb.

/rang bzhin rngos[48] po las[49] ci[~~ng~~?][50] yang (23) ma yin ba'I ngang du gyur par bsam/
Think that [they] are transferred into the state where there is nothing whatsoever of self-nature [or] substance.

/de nas phyogs mtshams (24) rdo rje ra bas bcad do/ /lus bsrung/
Then, the vajra enclosure delineates the boundaries [in all] directions, protecting the body.

/bgegs ched[51] gnan pa'I (25) sngags shi ri he ru kha ma ha badzra sa rba du shṭha pra bran tsa ka ha na ha na (26) h[u]ṃ~~n~~[52] phat ces zlas/
Recite the mantra for suppressing the great obstacles:[53] "śrī heruka mahāvajra sarva duṣṭān pra*bhañjaka* hana hana *hūṃ* phaṭ".

/'dI 'dra ba'I las la/ bdag yid ches (27) par bgyi/ /:/[54]
One is to perform rituals like this with conviction.

~~ca~~ phyag rgya ched po[55] bzhi la/ /sku phyag rgya dang/
The four *mahāmudrā*s are the [buddha] body *mudrā*,

chos gyi (28) phyag rgya dang/ dam tshIg gI phyag rgya dang/ las kyi phyag rgya 'o[56]//
the *dharmamudrā*, the *samayamudrā*, and the *karmamudrā*.

(29)[57] sku 'I phyag rgya nI/ bdag nyid yi dam gI lhar gsal bar bsgom ba la bya (30) 'o/[58]
The [buddha] body *mudrā* is to meditate clearly on oneself as the yidam deity.

/chos kyI phyag rgya nI thugs kar zla ba'I steng du sngags gyi (31) 'bru bgod pa la bya 'o/
The *dharmamudrā* is to establish the mantra seed [syllables] above the moon [disc] in the [deity's] heart.

/dam tshig phyag rgya ni pad ma la rdo rje[59] (32) gnas ~~la pa~~[60] pa la bya'o/
The *samayamudrā* is to make the vajra abide within the lotus.

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48 rngos = dngos?

49 las inserted, written beneath line, with a cross just above the line to indicate its positioning after po.

50 a final nga appears to have been deleted with a single stroke.

51 ched = most probably, like in ched po, archaic for chen (see below). Just possibly, byed is intended.

52 the *zhabs kyu* is not clearly visible; haṃ is another possibility, but huṃ would be more appropriate. There is a small fold in the paper here; it may be that the *zhabs kyu* has simply been obscured. Final na appears to have been deleted with a single stroke.

53 great obstacles: if *bgegs ched* = *bgegs chen*. Alternatively, "obstacle makers", if *bgegs ched* is for *bgegs byed* (see above).

54 here there is a kind of ornamental punctuation mark, consisting of three small vertically arranged circles with a *shad* before and following.

55 ched po: archaic for chen po (Dan Martin, citing Kuijp (1986, 33) (Leonard van der Kuijp, *Studies in the Life and Thought of Mkhas-grub-rje IV: Mkhas-grub-rje on Regionalism and Dialects*, Berliner Indologische Studien, vol. 2, 1986, pp. 23-50) and examples). In this scroll, there is one instance also in the text fragment written above this one, and one in the commentarial text written below.

56 There is a small ink blot in front of the letter 'o.

57 Here we continue on the sheet marked 82 in the IOL numbering system.

58 'o is slightly smudged and a little unclear.

59 je is rather poorly formed but the intention would seem clear.

60 la pa appears to have been deleted with single strokes through each letter. Presumably, this was a transposition then recognised by the scribe.

/las kyi phyag rgya nI spa ra na pat dang sang ha (33) ra na hum la bya 'i/:/[61]
The *karmamudrā* is to perform [emanation and reabsorption with], "spharaṇa phaṭ" and "saṃharaṇa hūṃ".

dag pa rnam g=sum[62] ni[63] bdag pa dang/ /gzhan (34) dag pa dang sprul ~~pa~~[64] pa dag pa 'o/
The three purities are the purity of oneself, of other, and of the emanations.

/bdag dag[65] pa ni sku 'I phyag rgya (35) ched por[66] bsgom ba la bya 'o
The purity of oneself is to meditate on the [buddha] body mahāmudrā.

gzhan dag pa nI sgeg mo dmyig gI yu[l?][67] (36) te/ mchod pa'I lha mo la bya 'o/
The purity of other is to make the attractive girl [who is] the meditation focus into an offering goddess.

/sprul pa dag pa ni/ de gnyis (37) kyI bar nas 'phro zhing 'du ba la bya 'o/ //
The purity of the emanations is to radiate out and reabsorb from between these two.

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[61] here there is a kind of ornamental punctuation mark, consisting of two small vertically arranged circles with a *shad* before and following.
[62] what appears to be a half-written letter ma in front of su is deleted with a single stroke.
[63] ni inserted, written below the line, with a cross above the line indicating its position.
[64] deleted pa slightly uncertain, but most probably a dittography noticed by the scribe.
[65] dag inserted, written small below the line, with a cross above the line indicating its position.
[66] Again, ched por, archaic for chen por (see above).
[67] The final letter of the line is rather ill-formed and uncertain, but a final la seems most likely.

8 PELLIOT TIBÉTAIN 349: THE TEXT AND COMMENTS[1]

Introduction

Links between PT 349 and other sources

In 1978, R. A. Stein published an analysis of ancient texts concerning the *kīla*, including two of the Dunhuang texts studied here (PT 44 and 349), as well as various materials from the later canonical collections of the *bKa' 'gyur*, *bsTan 'gyur* and the NGB. Much of what Stein reported in that article (Stein 1978) remains valid three decades later; but inevitably, with the passage of time, some of his findings have also become more debatable. What remains valid is his important identification of a strong connection between the *kīla* materials and the *Guhyasamāja* tradition; and also the importance of the occurrence of the shared identity of the forms Vajrakīla and Amṛtakuṇḍalin.[2] We believe Stein's article was the first to remark that Vajrakīla and Amṛtakuṇḍalin often and on significant occasions share a merged identity: while Bischoff's 1956 study of the *Mahābala-nāma-sūtra* had showed in passing that Vajrakīla and Amṛtakuṇḍalin occur as different deities in the same maṇḍalas, Bischoff had not yet encountered any evidence of the merged identity these forms often share, a feature that took particular significance in the important *Guhyasamāja* literature and its many derivatives.[3] What have become more questionable however are some of Stein's minutiae in historical and textual data.[4]

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1 This chapter originated in a paper delivered on December 12, 2000 at the University of Hamburg's Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, at the kind invitation of Professor David P. Jackson, and an earlier version was published in Mayer 2004. This text was one of those studied by Mayer's advanced reading group during his time as Visiting Professor at the Humboldt University of Berlin, 1999–2001. Two students made contributions which we acknowledge here: Gudrun Melzer most significantly by preparing the presentation of items 1 and 2 in the Appendix, by locating texts within the *Sādhanamālā*, and by discovering the parallel text in the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛttiratnāvalī* (see under Appendix section 2). Melzer also prepared the initial transcription of the Tibetan text, a difficult task that she worked on with Kerstin Grothmann.

2 As mentioned above (Ch. 4, p.42 note 5), Stein moreover noticed that the textual references in PT 44 all relate to the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*.

3 As we have seen in relation to many of our Dunhuang sources also (see above Ch. 3, p.39), Vajrakīla in this context is generally depicted as a deified stake, rather than a heruka who wields a stake as his main implement. The occurrences of Amṛtakuṇḍalin/Vajrāmṛta merged with Vajrakīla in *Guhyasamāja* Chapter 13 (as given in the Dunhuang manuscript edition IOL Tib J 438: 41v; see below Ch. 9, p.172-173) and also (if less specifically) in Chapter 14 (IOL Tib J 438: 54v.3 ff; see below Ch. 9, p.176) seem to have proven very influential, and are certainly the distant basis of the verses and mantra in the concluding lines of the text PT 349 analysed here; although PT 349's concluding lines follow the specific arrangement as found in Nāgārjuna's commentarial *Pañcakrama* rather than the root text of the *Guhyasamāja* itself. Not surprisingly, many important *Guhyasamāja* commentarial texts such as Candrakīrti's *Pradīpoddyotana* and Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama* reaffirm the identity of the deity described in *Guhyasamāja* Chapters 13 and 14 as Amṛtakuṇḍalin appearing as Vajrakīla, as do subcommentarial texts like Muniśrībhadra's *Pañcakramaṭippaṇi*. Boord (2002: 26 ff) gives very useful citations from the *Guhyasamāja* literature of Amṛtakuṇḍalin/Vajrāmṛta identified as Vajrakīla. Perhaps based on such materials, Boord's earlier work (Boord 1993: 6 and the whole of Ch. 2) argued that Amṛtakuṇḍalin or Vajrāmṛta is in fact the main precursor of Vajrakīla. However, this would seem rather an oversimplification. For a different and more broadly cultural and Indological (rather than narrowly Buddhological) view of the precursors of Vajrakīla, see Mayer 1991.

4 For an example of what has become questionable, on p.437–8, Stein explains how in following a textual clue from Ratna gling pa's *rNying ma chos 'byung*, he sought key verses in the two *Kī la ya bcu gnyis* texts found in volume Ha (29) of the NGB (presumably, referring to the Rig 'dzin and gTing skyes editions then available to him), but could not find the verses in either of those texts. He seemingly remained unaware that the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis* included in the core 18 Tantras section is not in the Rig 'dzin or gTing skyes volumes Ha at all – where two less prominent texts of that name occur – but in volume Dza (19) of the Rig 'dzin, gTing skyes and mTshams brag editions alike. Another statement of Stein's which now deserves a more nuanced treatment: on page 428 Stein stated categorically that the *Guhyasamāja* was not translated into Tibetan before about 1000 C.E., yet the picture seems rather more complex and not altogether certain; it is possible that rNying ma traditions of earlier translations are not to be so entirely discounted. See Ch. 9, p.166-168, for a discussion of the Dunhuang version of the *Guhyasamāja*.

Although apparently the first person to look at PT 349, Stein himself made no effort to present a transcription of the Tibetan, nor did he present any translation. Rather, he limited himself to a very brief summary comprising only nine lines in his own words of the basic gist as he saw it of the text. He also made a few important observations such as pointing out its citation of materials found in *Guhyasamāja* commentarial materials attributed to Nāgārjuna (Stein cites the Tibetan translation of the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* from the Peking *bsTan 'gyur* vol. 61, no. 2661, p. 269; and de la Vallée Poussin's Sanskrit edition of the *Pañcakrama* (1896, p.1–2.). These materials include the important mantra found in the root *Guhyasamāja's* Ch.14 (IOL Tib J 438: 54r.5), with which PT 349 comes to its culmination.

Thus, one of Stein's useful contributions in his brief study of PT 349 was to point out the close relation between some *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrakīla* materials. Indeed, although Stein did not point this out, Chapter 14 of the *Guhysamāja* root tantra even has important text uttered by "the Blessed One, the Great Vajrakīla" (*bhagavān mahāvajrakīlaḥ*, *bcom ldan 'das rdo rje phur bu chen po*),[5] and this chapter in particular contains a great deal of *kīla* ritual. This relationship has since also been commented on briefly in Mayer 1991 and at greater length in Boord 1993 and 2002. The full relationship between these two *Mahāyoga* traditions is an extremely complex issue which requires at the very least a full length monograph treatment; it is interesting that as far back as the 11th century, a major criticism levelled against the rNying ma pa to which Rong zom responded in his *dKon mchog 'grel* was that several topics, including *phur pa* consecration rites, were improperly and suspiciously duplicated between the *Guhyasamāja* and rNying ma texts such as those of the *Māyā* cycle (Wangchuk 2002: 270–271). Moreover, the textual transmission of the *Guhyasamāja* tradition in Tibet gives signs of being quite complicated. Nevertheless, in this study, we consider some textual evidence in the Dunhuang version of the root text (see below, Ch. 9), and here, in this chapter's appendix, we add Gudrun Melzer's demonstration of some important textual parallels to passages of PT 349 that occur in the *Pañcakrama* commentarial texts of the *Guhyasamāja* tradition attributed to Nāgārjuna, which Stein clearly remarked but did not actually present to his public. Thus, Melzer presents the Sanskrit of de Vallée Poussin's *Piṇḍikramasādhana* edition of 1896, with additional reference to Mimaki and Tomabechi's facsimile edition of 1994; and from the Tibetan, she adds the sDe dge and Peking *bsTan 'gyur* versions of the same. In fact, versions of the verses in question also occur elsewhere. Melzer found them in the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛttiratnāvalī* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti, although here in a discontinuous form with word by word commentary interspersed (Peking *bsTan 'gyur* 2690, folios 297b–298b). Other parallels – some more exact, some less exact, and some with particularly interesting continuities to PT 349 – also occur in more recent Sa skya and rNying ma pa Phur pa texts of various genres: we give an example below of a citation from the ritual text the *Sa skya Phur Chen*, and Boord (1993: 107) provides a translation (but does not give the Tibetan) of a parallel passage from a Phur pa historical text by the 18th century *Byang gter* author 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. We should add that we have also found further related passages in several NGB *Mahāyoga* scriptural texts, for example, in the *gZi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud,* usually classified within the *Tantra sde bco brgyad* section of *Mahāyoga* and dedicated to the Ten Wrathful Ones (*daśakrodha*, *khro bo bcu*).[6] In some of these NGB scriptures, we appear to find extremely interesting evidence of *Pañcakrama* verses entering NGB canonical scriptures (compare Appendix sections 2 and 3 below); but it is not altogether clear quite what such definitely existent but extremely complicated textual relationships amount to. We cannot always be sure of the direction of movement of blocks of text, their ultimate sources, nor the extent to which their meanings might have changed through minor amendments or re-contextualisation. Elsewhere in the NGB, in the *Phur pa phrin las skor* section of *Mahāyoga*, there appear to be remixes of the kīla verses found in the *Pañcakrama* that more closely follow some of the words found here in PT 349 (e.g.

[5] "bcom ldan 'das rdo rje phur bu chen pos de skad bka' stsal to" (mTshams brag NGB Vol. Tsha: 864.1–2; sTog Palace bKa' 'gyur Vol.96, Ca: 100.3–4). This particular name is not given in the Dunhuang version of the *Guhyasamāja*, where the equivalent passage reads, "bcom ldan 'da's myos pa gnon pa'I rdo rjes skad bka' stsald to" (IOL Tib J 438: 55v.3).

[6] This text occurs as the 6th text in the Rig 'dzin NGB in vol. Dza (folio 234 –253), in the gTing skyes NGB also in vol. Dza (pages 516–561), in the mTshams brag NGB in volume Zha (pages 533.3–580.4), and in sDe dge vol Pha, folios 36–52.

in chapter 16 of the *Phur pa gsang chen rdo rje 'phreng ba'i rgyud*;[7] we include this example in Appendix section 4 below). These parallels with the commentarial *Pañcakrama* verses bear interesting comparison with the ritual striking sections of the other Dunhuang Phur pa texts we have presented above (see Ch. 6, p.112-121 and Ch. 7, p.144-145), but in IOL Tib J 331.III and IOL Tib J 754, we do not find the lines invoking the Phur pa deity, *Dīptacakra*, nor the reference to the *Amṛta* deity.

The Manuscript and the presentation of the text

The manuscript is a scroll, 27cm wide and 42cm long, which is damaged in parts. Some restoration work has been done on it, although the lower extremity of the restoration paper itself appears to have been imprinted with fragmentary letters from a different manuscript (presumably through contact while wet). The scroll appears to have been made from thick light brown Tibetan paper. There is considerable damage to the right-hand-side, and damage at a few points on the left. It was probably in poor condition before the restoration. Despite this, the writing is mostly legible although there are many parts where the ink is so pale, the reading is very uncertain, especially in the first part of the manuscript. From the end of line 17, it appears that a much darker ink was used, so the letters are generally clearer from that point. Nothing is written on the reverse side. As in the case of many of the Dunhuang manuscripts, the style of writing is in-between *dbu can* and *dbu med*, but slightly closer to *dbu med*. There are a few instances (but not many) of reversed *gi gu*, and other archaic features such as the use of the *da drag*, and the *ya btags* in myi etc.

Due to the damage, it has proven impossible to reconstruct the missing portions with any certitude. By and large, we have resisted the temptation to attempt reconstruction except where the reconstruction is quite uncontroversial. We have made some progress since our earlier article (Mayer 2004), thanks largely to Jean-Luc Achard's help in consulting the original manuscript, but there remain parts where he too was unable to be certain of the correct readings. Unreadable parts of the text are clearly marked in our transcription.

Our inability to read parts of the text of course in several places contributes to uncertainty in our translation of connected readable portions. Like IOL Tib J 754 (see above, Ch. 7, p 137), this text with its untidy layout and the poor quality of its writing, very much gives the appearance of a note or *aide-mémoire* for personal use, rather than a carefully and neatly written scripture for communal use.

Tibetan Text in Transliteration

(1) $// // phur ba'i gtam rgyud ni/ /cho ga 'i rgyud [ni?] ki la ya [---] gnyis kyi [don dang?]
(2) tan tra sde gsum kyi mdo' btus nas/ /las rnam s[-]u [±2] gi cho ga 'i rgyud ni las cher b[t?][--][8]
(3) la phur ba'i rtsis mgo rnam pa bzhi bstan te/ /phur bu'i no phyi ka dang phur ba'i bsam rgyud
(4) [-]/phur ba'i yon tan dang/ phur bu 'i grub pa'i rgyu dang / rnam pa bzhi 'o/ /de la phur bu 'i
(5) no phyi ka ni/ lha tib ta tsag kra khro bo chen po 'i sku mdog dmar/ / spyan gsum phyag
(6) [dru?]g pa/ /zhabs gcig rdo rje bu[g?][9] [rtse?] [±2]/ /khams kyi gnod sbyin [-]n[10] po 'tshir [zhing/(/zhig)]
(7) bdag dang gnyis su [myed pa?]r dbyings [gcig?] pa ni / no phyi ka 'o/ / bsam rgyud [n?]i [...]
(8) dbyings gcig pu las/ /lag pa g.yas kyi mthil tu/ ta las zla ba'i dkyil tu [sgyur?] /
(9) thabs kyi rang bzhin yin bas/ /khro bo chen po bcu/ g.yon kyi mthil du ma las/ /
(10) nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor tu gyur te//shes [rab] kyi rang bzhin kyI rtags ~~rtags~~ yin bas
(11) khro bo chen mo bcur dmyigs pa la stsogs pa ni/ / [bsam?] rgyud [phu]r bu 'i yon tan
(12) nI/ /de ltar khyab pas tshe 'di la bgegs zhI ste/ /bsod nams kyi tshogs thob/ /[±2]

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7 Rig 'dzin Vol. Sha folios 43–60; gTing skyes Vol. Sha: 93–128 ; mTshams brag vol. Ji folios 214–258 ; Taipei 5120 vol. 61 pages 316–322; sDe dge Vol. Zha folios 145–161.

8 The final letter(s) are totally unclear. Perhaps btang represents the best guess.

9 This is very unclear and not at all certain; bub/bubs might seem more appropriate.

10 Entirely unclear, but we might conjecture che, ie gnod sbyin chen po.

(13) pha rol kyi mtho ris kyi gnas su phyin pas/ /ye shes kyi tshogs thob pas/ /bsod
(14) nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs rnam pa gnyis thob pas/ /yon tan/ /phur bu 'i grub
(15) rgyu ni de ltar byas nas/ /bgegs zhi ste/ yon bdag gi bsam ba grub/ /mtho [ris]
(16) kyI gnas thob/ /tshogs chen po gnyis kyang rdzogs/ /thabs dang shes rab kyi
(17) rang bzhin kyi las ma g.yos pas/ yon tan dang grub pa'i rgyu 'o / /phur bu 'di lag pa
(18) gnyis kyi bar du dril zhing gsor ba'i tshe/ /gnan bzlog gi phur bu'i rgyu ni/ / mtshon
(19) myI la babs pa'i lcags la bgyi'/ /rgya mdud kyi steng du he ru ka dgod/ /ngos bzhir phrin
(20) las kyi khyad bar dang sbyar te dgod/ /mgul zur brgyad la ma mo chen mo brgyad dgod/ /rtse mo la
(21) mu ka brgyad bgod nas/ /sna la bdag rang la gdab/ [-]'i bsam rgyud ni/ rgyu phun sum tshogs pa
(22) ste/ /lhar byin kyis brlabs nas grub pa gsol te/ /'dod pa'i khams man cad du gdab / bgegs
(23) la gdab pa'i thabs ni/ /rgyu kun lhar tshogs nas/ /lag pa'i bar du drild pas zhe sdang gi
(24) bsam ba myI skyed/ snyIng rje chen pos gzhi bzung/ /'od zer dang 'phro 'du byung bas// gang la bya ba
(25) 'I gzugs la phog pas byang cub kyi sems skyes pas/ /zhi ba chen po 'i rang bzhin [tu?]
(26) gyur par bsams nas/ /phur bu bsgrags pa'I tshig bshad 'di brjod do/ khro bo rgyal po 'di dag
(27) gis/ /bgegs nI bkug nas rnam par gzhig/ /blo ldan rab du sbyor ba yis/ cho ga bzhin du
(28) phur bus gdab/ /rdo rje rgyal chen bdud rtsi po/ /rdo rje phur bu nyid gnas pas/ ud dpal sngon po
(29) 'i mdog 'dra ba/ /bgegs kyi tshogs la 'og du gzigs/ /lte ba man cad cha rnams ni rtse mo
(30) lta bur rnam par [...][11] de 'i sngags snams[12] sbyor bas yis/ / rdo rje phur nges btab na/ bgegs
(31) [lus?] shin tu myI g.yo 'o/ /ōṃ gha gha gha ta ya gha ta ya/ sa rwa tu shta ni phaṭ/ kī la ki la ya
(32) sa rba ba pham phaṭ/ / hūṃ hūṃ [ba?]dzra dha rod a [-] pa ya ti / [

Translation as a whole, without comments

(1) As for the Phur ba[13] oral tradition, the Tantra ritual [tradition] [- -] [the meaning] of the two [- - -] Kīlaya [...]
(2,3) extracted from the sūtras of the three sections of Tantra: regarding the tantra ritual of the [- - -] rites, greatly [augmented?], four principal headings are taught for Phur ba: Phur bu's means for attainment (*no phyi ka* = *sādhanopāyikā*), Phur ba's meditational tantra [tradition]
(4) [-] , Phur ba's qualities, and the material [object] for accomplishing Phur bu,[14] four in number. From these,
(5) regarding the Phur bu means for attainment: the deity Dīptacakra (*lha tib ta tsag kra*), the great wrathful one, has a body colour of red; is three-eyed and [six]-armed;
(6) has a single lower limb (*zhabs gcig*) [of a] Vajra [downwards (pointing)?][15] [prong?][- -]; he crushes the [great] yakṣas of the world; and
(7) onself being [non-dual] with the [single] expanse, this is the means for attainment. As for the meditational tantra [tradition][......]:
(8) from out of the single [non dual] expanse, on the palm of the right hand, [visualise arising out of] the syllable ta, a moon disc;
(9) since [they] are the nature of skilful means, the ten great wrathful male [deities arise upon it]. On the left palm, from the [syllable] ma,
(10) arises a sun maṇḍala; since [they] are the symbol of the nature of wisdom,

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[11] Here, the writing is badly smudged and obscured.
[12] rnams intended?
[13] Note that the text is not consistent in its usage of terminology for Phur ba/ Phur bu etc. We have *phur bu'i yon tan* in line 12, referring back to *phur ba'i yon tan* in line 4, but many Phur pa texts of later periods are also inconsistent in this respect (see Chapter 1, p.5-6 note 14).
[14] This might rather mean, "Phur bu [as a] basis for accomplishment," but given the explanation below, which relates to the ritual with the material *phur bu*, this translation seems more appropriate here.
[15] if bub/bubs is intended; bug – which seems to be the most likely reading – would mean, hole.

(11) the ten great wrathful female [deities arise upon it]. Meditating on [these] and so forth, for the Tantra [meditation tradition's] virtuous qualities of [Phur bu]:
(12) by spreading [the deities over one's hands] in this way, one's obstacles in this life will be pacified; [thereby] the accumulations of merit can be attained [--]
(13) [so that] one passes on to an abode in the transcendent heavens [where] the accumulation of primordial wisdom can [also] be attained;
(14) and thus the two accumulations of merit and primordial wisdom can both be attained: [hence these are the] virtuous qualities. Regarding the material [object] for accomplishing Phur bu:
(15) having acted accordingly [as above], the obstacles are pacified, the patron's wishes will be accomplished,
(16,17) heavenly abodes will be attained, and even the two great accumulations will be completed. Since [the *phur bu*] does not depart from the very nature of skilful means and wisdom, [it is] the material basis for qualities and accomplishment.
(18) When [one] rolls and brandishes the *phur bu* between one's two hands, [these are] the materials for the suppressing and repelling *phur bu*:
(19) make it out of iron from a weapon [that has felled?] a man; above its knotted cords, establish Heruka; on the four sides,
(20) establish those endowed with the [four] particular enlightened activities; on the eight facets of the neck, establish the eight great māmos;
(21) having established the eight mukhas (*mu ka brgyad*) on its point, at the tip (*sna la*), [one] strikes one's own self. For the meditational tantra [tradition] [-], since this is the Perfection of Material,
(22) consecrate it as the deity, request accomplishment, and [one will be able to] strike at [the whole] Realm of Desire (*kāmadhātu*) below.
(23) As for the method of striking at the obstacles: the entire substance having been assembled as the deit[ies], when rolling it between the hands, do not give rise to angry thoughts.
(24) With great compassion adhered to as the basis, through the arising of light-rays and [their] emanation and reabsorption,
(25) the form of whoever [the rite's] object is struck, [and] by generating bodhicitta, imagine that they become transformed into [their] nature of great peace.
(26) Then utter these verses of the Phur bu proclamation:
These wrathful kings
(27) summon and totally destroy the obstacles.
Those supremely endowed with good intellect
(28) Strike with the *phur bu* in accordance with the rite.
The great Vajra King, the Amṛta being,
Abides as the Vajra Phur bu itself,
(29) Blue in colour like an utpala,
Gazing down at the hosts of obstacles.
The parts below [his] navel
(30) are like a point, and utterly [.....].
If, endowed with his mantras,
One definitively strikes with Vajra Phur [bu],
(31) The [bodies?] of the obstacles will become entirely immobilised
ōṃ gha gha gha ta ya gha ta ya / sa rva du shta ni phaṭ // kī la ki la ya
(32) sa rva ba pham phaṭ// hūṃ hūṃ [ba]dzra dha rod a [-] pa ya ti [...

Translation with our comments

Translation of line 1-4
(1) As for the Phur ba oral tradition, the Tantra ritual [tradition] [- -] [the meaning] of the two [- - -] Kīlaya [...]

(2,3) extracted from the sūtras of the three sections of Tantra: regarding the tantra ritual of the [- - -] rites, greatly [augmented?], four principal headings are taught for Phur ba: Phur bu's means for attainment (*no phyi ka* = *sādhanopāyikā*), Phur ba's meditational tantra [tradition]
(4) [-] , Phur ba's qualities, and the material [object] for accomplishing Phur bu, four in number.

Comments on lines 1-4

Even if the beginning of the text is incomplete, rendering it almost untranslatable, we can at least with some certainty interpret the term *no phyi ka*, which is one of the four topics or headings that structure the text (*phur ba'i rtsis mgo rnam pa bzhi*). This term had puzzled Stein who remarked that he could not understand it ("mot inconnu," 1978: 433 note 30), but with the recent progress in Dunhuang studies, this term is no longer a puzzle.[16] It is quite common within Dunhuang ritual texts, and seems to be a Tibetan vulgar Sanskrit based on *sādhanaupayika*> *naupayika*> *no p(h)yi ka*, ie. it means, "methods for sādhana". Following Das's dictionary (s.v. *no pi ka*), Hackin and other sources, we have found various citations of the term that support this interpretation: IOL Tib J 553 (*no pyi ka*) and 554 (*no pyi kā*), (http://idp.bl.uk/; de la Vallée Poussin 1962: 171); Hackin (1924: 8 and 46 (*no phyi ka*); see also Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā* 209, 228, 240, 248, which mention *sādhanopāyikā*,[17] Edgerton (1970: 146), who cites *Sādhanamālā* 415.5, 449.17, 468.12, and 486.3 (all colophons); and Roerich 1976: 160, which refers to the *bsTan 'gyur* text, *'Jig rten snang byed zla ba'i no pi ka*.

It is also interesting that we have four categories. These do not quite correspond to the "four *phur pa*s" or "four *phur bu*s", which became such an important aspect of Phur pa commentarial and practice traditions, but they do have something in common with the set.[18] The first has some implication of an understanding relating to the ultimate wisdom, the second and/or third relate to meditative visualisation practices, including the union of male and female deities, while the fourth relates to practice with the material *phur bu*. The similarity may be entirely coincidental, but it perhaps highlights the point that some of the basic motifs in Phur pa practices have remained constant.

Translation of lines 5–7

From these,
(5) regarding the Phur bu means for attainment: the deity Dīptacakra (*lha tib ta tsag kra*), the great wrathful one, has a body colour of red; is three-eyed and [six]-armed;
(6) has a single lower limb (*zhabs gcig*) [of a] Vajra [downwards (pointing)?][19] [prong?][- -]; he crushes the [great] yakṣas of the world; and
(7) onself being [non-dual] with the [single] expanse, this is the means for attainment.

Comments on lines 5–7

A question that arises here concerns the deity Dīptacakra, whose name appears on line 5. Here in PT 349 Dīptacakra is clearly male: *lha tib ta tsag kra khro bo chen po*. Moreover we find passages in a number of other authoritative ancient sources that remix many of the words of PT 349, and which also affirm Dīptacakra – at least in this context – as a male deity. Such passages occur in the Vajrakīlaya writings of the

16 Our analysis owes much to Matthew Kapstein, personal communuication, February 1, 2000.
17 Thanks to Gudrun Melzer for discovering these titles within the *Sādhanamālā*.
18 There are some variations in the four *phur pa* set. The *'Bum nag* (and sources following the *'Bum nag*), gives the *rig pa ye shes*, the *thugs rje sprul pa'i*, *gsang ba byang sems* and *mtshan ma rdzas kyi phur bu* (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: 435ff and 467ff; Boord 2002: 259ff, 282ff). A myes zhabs notes (142.4) *tshad med snying rje'i* as an alternative for *thugs rje sprul pa'i*, while some sources, (eg. Khenpo Namdrol [45–7], Gyatrul Rinpoche [254–260]), reverse the ordering of the second and third of the categories (see Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 37).
19 if bub/bubs is intended; bug – which seems to be the most likely reading – would mean, hole.

early Sa skya pa master Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216);[20] in an NGB Vajrakīlaya scripture called the *Phur pa gsang chen rdo rje 'phreng ba* (for these passages, see the Appendix below); and also in the still current major Sa skya pa Vajrakīlaya ritual, the *Phur chen*, with its commentaries (which we will discuss shortly).[21] Yet in much of the recent tradition, and especially in Western translation and study of Vajrakīlaya, Dīptacakra is almost invariably taken exclusively to represent the Sanskrit name of the female deity whom Tibetan sources call *'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma*.[22] This *'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma* is the central Vajrakīlaya deity's famous female consort of union (*sbyor*), a more common counterpart to Ekajaṭā who is his female consort of killing (*sgrol*) – although whether these two are really separate consorts, or two aspects of the same consort, is variable – sometimes they are described as two separate consorts, sometimes as two aspects of the same. But it is noteworthy that while so many recent sources now give 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma the Sanskrit name Dīptacakra, this usage is rare in Tibetan literature, where she is generally called only by her Tibetan name. In traditional Tibetan sources, we can only recollect one instance of the explicit use of Dīptacakra in descriptions or homages to 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma, and that in a set of aspirational verses to be recited following the main practice text rather than in the principal sections of the practice.[23] On the other hand, there are several occasions when Ekajaṭā is identified as 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma, for example, in the Sa skya literature; but here the tendency seems to be more a conflation of the two consorts.[24]

Nevertheless, there is at least one good justification for the usage of Dīptacakra – it comes from her mantra, *oṃ dīptacakra hana hana hūṃ phaṭ* (see above Ch. 5, p.81).[25] However, it in no way translates her Tibetan name. The Tibetan name *'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma* means something like "She who seals with the wheel[s]". But, as Kong sprul points out (following earlier commentarial tradition), the etymology of the mantra is as follows: *dīpta* means blazing, *cakra* is a wheel, and *hana hana* is the exclamation strike! strike!; so the whole mantra means "strike, strike with the blazing wheel!" He adds that it is because of the meaning of this mantra that the *yum* appears holding a wheel of destruction in her right hand.[26] Thus the literal

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[20] Indeed, as mentioned above (see Ch. 2, p.15 note 3), this work may in fact derive from Grags pa rgyal mtshan's father, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158).

[21] There is also a brief parallel in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 20 (D Vol. Pa: 241r–v), which gives the invocation, followed by two lines similar to IOL Tib J 331.III (8r) and then an instruction to recite the Vajra Claw or other mantra (dīpta tsakra phur pa'i lha/ /khros pa'i mi bzad 'bar ba'i sku/ /ske nas lag g.yon bzung la bzlas/ /rdo rje tho bas g.yas pas brdeg/ /rdo rje sder mo 'am so so yis/ /gsod pa'i sngags ni drag bzlas te/).

[22] Many publications in English will opt for Sanskrit equivalent names for deities, and on this basis, Dīptacakra has been used, in the same way that the Phur pa heruka deity is generally referred to in Western publications as Vajrakīlaya, a name which is both a literal translation of Tibetan, rdo rje phur pa, and which is well-attested in Tibetan sources as an equivalent. For Dīptacakra used as the Sanskrit equivalent for 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma, see for example, Mayer 1996: 174 and Mayer 1998: 293; or see Boord 2002: 39 and Boord 2002: 316. See also the numerous unpublished works on Vajrakīlaya produced by various Western Dharma organisations for their practitioners, for example, the impressively extensive and detailed works of the Vajravairocana Translation Committee based in the USA to which half a dozen leading rNying ma pa lamas and *mkhan po*s contributed; or those circulated among the Western Sa skya pa community, to which several major Sa skya pa lamas have contributed: in all of these, Dīptacakra is ubiquitously used to indicate the female consort 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma. However, Boord 1993 temporarily changed his usage from Dīptacakra to Tṛptacakra, without comment; we have not encountered the form Tṛptacakra in any Tibetan sources. Boord 2002 reverted from Tṛptacakra back to the more usual Dīptacakra.

[23] this is in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 149.3.

[24] Compare the *Sa skya Phur chen* 16.4 ff where the usual Sa skya form of 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma is elaborately visualised, with the *Sa skya Phur chen* 36b. – 37a where with no explanation this same visualisation is lengthily praised as Ekajaṭā; for a similar passage, see also Grags pa rgyal mtshan p.184, f.373r. A myes zhabs offers no explanation in his great commentary (see below).

[25] In Nyang ral's *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'phrin las 'dus pa Phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, a variant of this mantra for generating the yum is given, "*oṃ dīptacakra ru lu ru lu bhyo*" (mTshams brag NGB Volume Ya: 765.3).

[26] See his famous commentary, *dPal rdo rje phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi dum bu'i sgrel pa sNying po bsdud pa dpal chen pa'i zhal lung zhes bya ba*, p.101. The consort's appearance is described very similarly in rNying ma and Sa skya sources, but there are variations in what she holds in her right hand. In rNying ma sources, she may hold a blue lotus (Ratna gling pa, in *dPal chen kI la ya'i chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* Vol. 10: 390.4–5, 430.1), a trident (*bDud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri las byang* Volume Tha: 96; Volume Da: 101), bell or other implement (eg. vajra, see Mag gsar 2003: 226). In Sa skya sources (as Kong sprul's discussion makes clear), she is said to carry a radiant wheel (golden and twelve-spoked according to oral teachings by H.H. Sakya Trizin,

Tibetan translation of Dīptacakra would be *'Khor lo 'bar ba*, not *'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma*.[27] Nonetheless, although Western language publications may give a slightly misleading impression by systematically using the name Dīptacakra purely for the consort, the consort's association with the Dīptacakra mantra, and the integration of the name into other Sanskrit phrases for inviting her,[28] do mean that the tradition does have an established association between the name and the consort. But this is not the only application of the name Dīptacakra in the traditional context.

We saw above (Ch.5, p.81 note 39) that the root *Guhyasamāja*'s version of the Dīptacakra mantra (Ch. 14; IOL Tib J 438: 55r.1; mTshams brag NGB Volume Tsha: 862.6) anticipates its widespread use in the Tibetan tradition of Vajrakīlaya, but unfortunately, the *Guhyasamāja* root tantra is not at all clear about what (if any) the gender implications of the words *dīptavajracakra* might be – does this point to a male name, as in the PT 349 example and similar verses found in oft-quoted traditional sources in relation to a deified implement or *sras mchog* Phur pa deity, or to a female name, for the deity's consort? Or neither? Or both? Unfortunately, the *Guhyasamāja* commentaries are not any more clear than the root tantra about the gender implications of the words – from what we have seen so far, they only add to the uncertainty.[29]

But here in PT 349, it is clear that the name Dīptacakra refers not to the very well known female consort deity of Vajrakīlaya, but to a wrathful male deified *phur pa* (*khro bo chen po, khro bo rgyal po*), a form found in several Dunhuang texts, as we have seen (Ch. 3, p.39, Ch. 5, p.72-73, Ch.6, p.96-98), generally considered the "Supreme Son" or *sras mchog* form of the Vajrakīlaya deity in Phur pa traditions, and certainly seen as quintessentially male.

This application of the name Dīptacakra to a male deity with a *phur bu* shaped lower body also persists in literature in regular contemporary use: the *Phur chen* sādhana, the major current practice of the Sa skya *Khon lugs phur pa* tradition, has the following verse (starting on folio 24r line 6):

Cornwall 1989), or in some older sources (such as Grags pa rgyal mtshan's edition of his father Sa chen Kun dga' snying po's work, 360r–v), a curved knife or bell (see also A myes zhabs 291.4–5).

27 In fact, there is an occurrence of a mantra with the *dīptacakra hana hana hūṃ phaṭ* element in it in the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 20 (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 206), which from the context would seem to relate to the build-up of the maṇḍala's foundations rather than to the arising of the deity and consort. The mantra is followed by the line, "oṃ, the *blazing maṇḍala* (of) the dark blue triangle" (oṃ gru gsum mthing nag *'bar ba*'i dkyil *'khor*) [our italics].

28 In the Sa skya Phur chen (28r.2–4), she is addressed as, 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma, but the following invitation mantra uses the name Dīptacakra (oṃ dīpta tsakra sa ma dzaḥ).

29 There are a great many commentaries – around a dozen *bsTan 'gyur* volumes are dedicated to *Guhyasamāja* commentaries! Chintaharan Chakravarti's edition of the Sanskrit manuscript of Candrakīrti's *Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyotanaṭīkā* from the Rahul Collection does clearly interpret *dīptavajracakra* as referring to a female (page 159, paragraph 3: *omityādiko niranto mantraḥ | chinda chinda sādhyakāyam | hana hana kāyabalam | daha daha kāya[m] | dīptavajraṃ ca cakraṃ ca yasyā dīptavajracakretyāmantraṇam | hūṃ phaḍiti codanam*). Boord translates this very nicely, but accepts it without further question (Boord 2002: 39). However, J.S. Jha points out in his introduction that the Rahul Collection text appears to comment on a *Guhyasamāja* root text that has a number of readings not found in other *Guhyasamāja* editions – so further research of Sanskrit sources is probably called for. Meanwhile, the Tibetan translation of this famous commentary by Candrakīrti as witnessed in the Peking and Golden *bsTan 'gyur*s (Peking 2650, Vol. Sa f.155b; Kinsha *rGyud 'grel* vol Sa, 201) does not specify a female at all (*oṃ zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni sngags te/ ming mtha' med ces bya'o/ /tshinda tshinda zhes bya ba ni/ bsgrub par bya ba'i lus chod cig pa'o/ /ha na ha na zhes bya ba ni lus kyi stobs choms shig pa'o/ /da ha da ha zhes pa ni lus bsregs shig pa'o/ /dīpta badzra cakra zhes bya ba ni rdo rje dang 'khor lo 'bar ba can gang yin pa la/ 'bar ba'i rdo rje 'khor lo can zhes bod pa'o/ /hūṃ phaṭ ces pa ni bskul ba'o/*). Another *Guhyasamāja* commentarial text from the Peking *bsTan 'gyur* (Vol. Sha, 243b–244a) which is attributed to Nāgārjuna, the Ś*rīguhyasamājatantrasyatantraṭīkānāma* or *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyud 'grel pa,* also comments on this *Guhyasamāja* verse in such a way as to leave gender unspecified: *oṃ ni rnam par snang mdzad do/ /tshinda zhes pa ni chod ces ston to/ /ha na zhes pa ni bsgrub bya'i lus sod cig ces par ston to/ /dīpta badzra zhes pa ni rdo rje 'bar ba ste/ /bod pa'i tshig go /hūṃ dang phaṭ ni khros pa la'o/.* Clearly, a more thorough examination of both Sanskrit and Tibetan sources would be necessary before arriving at a clear decision about Dīptacakra's gender in *Guhyasamāja* commentarial literature.

tīpta ca kra phur pa'i lha/ mthing nag gcer bu ral pa can/ sku stod khro bo chen po la/ zhal gsum phyag kyang drug pa ste/ dbu la rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas rdzogs/ lte ba man chad sku yi cha/ utpal sngon po'i 'dab 'dra ba/ 'bar ba'i phreng ba 'khrigs pa'i 'od/ lcags kyi phur pa zur gsum pa/ drag por gyur ba'i phur pa ste/ btab na lha yang brlag par 'gyur/ gnod byed bgegs la smos ci dgos/

"Dīptacakra, Phur pa deity, / Dark blue and naked, with matted hair, [Your] upper body is a great male wrathful one./ With three heads and six arms,/ [Your] heads are perfected by the Buddhas of the Five families./ The part of your body which is below the middle/ Is like the petals of a blue lotus./ With light amassing in a blazing garland/ [Around] the three-sided iron *phur pa*,/ This is the *phur pa* [which has] become destructive! If it were to strike, even the gods would be destroyed, / What need is there to speak of the harmful forces and obstacles?"

The great 17th century Sa skya savant 'Jam mgon A myes zhabs wrote the definitive commentary on the *Sa skya Phur chen*, and his analysis of the words *tīpta ca kra phur pa'i lha* etc. as cited above are quite clear. He says that: they refer to the material kīla held in one's hands, which is visualised as the "Supreme Son" kīla; that this is a male Kīlaya deity; and that the Tibetan meaning of his name is *'khor lo 'bar ba*.[30] We can see that the words *'khor lo 'bar ba* follow the literal translation of *dīptacakra* that we find in much *bsTan 'gyur* commentary on *Guhyasamāja* Ch.14, and also in Tibetan commentarial explanations of the meanings of the Sanskrit mantra of Vajrakīlaya's female consort – but which is rarely used as her actual name in Tibetan sources, which instead usually call her *'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma*.

Note also that some of the lines here from the *Phur chen* are parallel to the *Guhyasamāja* commentarial materials presented in the appendix given below: */ utpal sngon po'i 'dab 'dra ba/ 'bar ba'i phreng ba 'khrigs pa'i 'od*, and also *sku stod khro bo chen po la/ zhal gsum phyag kyang drug pa ste/*; also *lte ba man chad sku yi cha*. In addition, the above verses are close to the verses from Grags pa rgyal mtshan and from the NGB's *Phur pa gsang chen rdo rje 'phreng ba'i rgyud* that we cite in the Appendix below, where we again find a male Dīptacakra – although there following PT 349 in giving the deity's colour as red rather than blue. The verses describing a "Son" form for the nirmāṇakāya consecration in IOL Tib J 331.III (3r, see above, Ch. 6, p.96-98) are also similar, although there is not such an obvious parallel. In fact, these verses or various remixes of them are quite widespread in Vajrakīlaya literature in general.[31]

Given that 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma's mantra contains the element *dīptacakra*, and the sheer depth of opinion that calls her Dīptacakra, this raises the issue of the double application of the name Dīptacakra to Vajrakīlaya's Supreme Son and to his consort of union alike. While some Indological scholars might argue that such name and gender ambiguities are unremarkable from their point of view, our impression is that they

[30] *dīpta tsa kra phur pa'i lha ces sogs brjod/ de dagi don ni/ dīpta tsa kra zhes pas ni lag na yod pa'i sras mchog de nyid gsal btab pa yin la/ 'o na 'di badzra kī la ya yin pa la/ dīpta tsa kra ste 'khor lo 'bar ba zhes brjod pa*. (A myes zhabs 1973: 347).

[31] For example, Martin Boord (1993: 107) has presented a translation of the verses as found in the 18th century *Byang gter* author Phrin las bdud 'jom's *Byang gter phur pa'i dbang gi lo rgyus legs par bshad pa nor bu'i do shal*. However, perhaps misled by the common current usage of the name Dīptacakra purely for the consort (or perhaps following an uncited oral explanation?), Boord appears to introduce the word 'and' conjecturally into his text, to get around what he quite understandably (but perhaps mistakenly in this case) sees as the anomaly of the name Dīptacakra being applied to the quintessentially male kīla deity. In this way, Boord tries to attribute the name Dīptacakra to the female consort instead. Hence, he gives us a *yum-yab* interpretation: "Oh Tṛptacakra [and] the Kīla god, dark blue in colour, naked, with long dishevelled hair...". Probably, Boord should have more simply written: "Oh Dīptacakra, Kīla god, dark blue in colour, naked, with long dishevelled hair...". thus accepting the transmitted textual evidence of Dīptacakra applying to a single male deity. Boord (1993: 108, note 398) seems to say that Phrin las bdud 'joms took his text from the 17th century bKa' brgyud pa author gTsang mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho's *rDo rje phur pa'i chos byung*, but we are not sure if this is what he means. Nevertheless, it is clear that the author (whether Phrin las bdud 'joms or gTsang mkhan chen) associates these verses with the famous Pharping narrative, which we find in PT 44 and throughout subsequent Phur pa histories (see above p. 45-47): hence the author has Padmasambhava utter a version of these verses in the Asura cave at Pharping in order to tame the various troublesome godesses there (he lists them as *Sho na*, *bDag nyid chen mo*, and *bSe mo*).

are sufficiently rare in rNying ma pa literature – at least for deities with such prominent and clearly defined personalities as these – to pose an interesting question. If this is (as seems likely) more than simply a modernist confusion prompted by the Sanskritising impulse of Western scholarship, then was the ambiguity originally "planned", a doctrinal and ritual development that was deliberate from its outset? After all, there are few Indian tantric traditions more minutely analysed than the *Guhyasamāja*, and few Tibetan tantric traditions more commented upon than Vajrakīlaya. Or was it a possibly anachronistic anomaly arising from the gradual emergence of Vajrakīlaya and his maṇḍala out of the conceptual vagueness of the pantheonic margins – where identity and gender is more often ill-defined – into the minutely scrutinised limelight of pantheonic centrality – where identity and gender is usually more clearly defined? Or did it originally arise from the confusion of a faulty scribal transmission that was later rationalised, or from some other kind of interpretational confusion between mantras and names? Or was it a result of alternative interpretations of the verse in *Guhyasamājatantra* Chapter 14 and its commentaries?

Not without important reservations, one can also consider an additional perspective: the "Supreme Son" can be *functionally* very close to some aspects of the consort's role. Both can represent Vajrakīlaya's practical apotropaic activities of summmoning and liberating obstacles (which typically make use of a further minor pantheon of more marginal deities). To use rNying ma pa terminology, the Supreme Son and the consort alike (along with other more marginal often female Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala deities such as the dog-headed goddess Śvāna[32]) can be especially important in the *smad las*, the "subsidiary rites" of eliminating obstacles.[33] Could this functional closeness of the male *nirmāṇakāya* form to the more marginal female deities of activity and his consequent co-habiting of various subsidiary maṇḍalas with them contribute to occasional name or gender ambiguity? But a serious problem with this analysis is that it is the consort of liberation (*sgrol*), Ekajaṭā, who fits this scenario, rather than the consort of union (*sbyor*), Khor lo rgyas 'debs ma.

Nevertheless, gender and name ambiguity is certainly not so rare among the more marginal deities of the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala: one can point out that the twenty attendants of the Ten Wrathful Deities (two for each) may be described as all female, but generally are presented as ten males and ten females;[34] likewise Śvāna can also sometimes (but comparatively rarely) have male counterparts,[35] and the descriptions of the other

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[32] Her Sanskrit name is variously rendered as Śvānamukhī, Śvanmukhā, Śvāna, or Śvana and her Tibetan name as Sho na or Shwa na. She is the most famous of the Vajrakīlaya protectresses, whose place in the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala traditionally goes back to her being tamed by Padmasambhava at Pharping (see Ch. 4 above, p.45-47).

[33] Evidence for this can be found in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, where Ch. 9 is devoted entirely to the Supreme Son. Here the Supreme Son is envisaged as having his home in the maṇḍala of the secret consort, 'encircled by a blazing radiance of fire,' (perhaps an allusion to Dīptacakra as a female, perhaps an attribute of himself), where he co-habits with relatively marginal and mainly female 'subsidiary rite' deities of killing and liberating and the largely female Vajrakīlaya protectors such as Śvāna and Remati.

[34] The *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* refers to them all in turn as "sprul pa'i lha mo phra men ma", but the *'Bum nag* (bDud 'joms *bKa' ma* edition: 339.1 and 340–342; Boord 2002: 187–188) is explicit in identifying each pair as a male associated with the male wrathful deity concerned and a female associated with the female wrathful deity, and many sources, both rNying ma and Sa skya (see A myes zhabs: 308), provide a similar interpretation. The Dunhuang *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary (IOL Tib J 321) also presents the ten attendants classified as male in transmitted sources as proceeding from the maṇḍala of male Wrathful Ones (f.53v), and those classified as female as proceeding from the female Wrathful Ones' maṇḍala (f.54v), described in Chapters 12 and 13 respectively. However, despite the *'Bum nag*'s own exegesis, Boord (2002: xxi) indicates that its historical account (Boord 2002: 209) seems to identify the emanations as female. Moreover, he adds that the Northern Treasure (*Byang gter*) Phur pa texts uphold this understanding.

[35] The *gter ma* of mChog gyur gling pa (*mChog gling gter sar*) have both male and female Śvāna deities: for example, the *Zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi shwa na chen po'i zlog pa'i phrin las bcol ba* (Volume 17, pp. 559–569) has the passage: *yab gcig shwa na mu kha che/ mthu chen bdud rgyal rnams kyi gshed../ khyod kyi yum gcig shwa na ma/ mkha la 'khor 'das thams cad rdzogs/* (p. 562). Thanks to Andreas Doctor for these texts. Note however that in the *Shwa na dkar nag gi rgyud* of the NGB (sDe dge Zha f. 260; mTshams brag Ji p.1096; gTing skyes Sha p.493; Nubri Sa f.65 gong; Rig 'dzin Sha f.222), which is the only Tantra specifically for Śvāna deities with which we are currently familiar, only female forms of Śvāna are ever explicitly mentioned (although it is also just conceivable that male ones might also be very vaguely implied, especially with a liberal helping of creative exegesis; at least they are not explicitly precluded).

Vajrakīlaya protectors can also vary quite a lot. We can conclude that what might be surprising about the gender and name ambiguity of Dīptacakra is not so much the ambiguity as such, but its existence between such famous and well-defined deities as Vajrakīlaya's main consort and his "Supreme Son".

Translation of lines 8 to 11

As for the meditational tantra [tradition][......]:

(8) from out of the single [non dual] expanse, on the palm of the right hand, [visualise arising out of] the syllable ta, a moon disc;

(9) since [they] are the nature of skilful means, the ten great wrathful male [deities arise upon it]. On the left palm, from the [syllable] ma,

(10) arises a sun maṇḍala; since [they] are the symbol of the nature of wisdom,

(11) the ten great wrathful female [deities arise upon it].

Comments on lines 8 to 11

Line 8:

Here we have a short version of the consecration ritual found in IOL Tib J 331.III and many other texts (see above Ch.5 and 6, p.75, 102-106), in which the deities arise on the hands. The text's reading of "ta" for the seed syllable generating the moon is in agreement with IOL Tib J 331.III (4v.1), and the parallel passage in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag NGB Volume Chi, 1034.7) gives, "ṭa". Other sources, however, including PT 44 (see above, Ch. 4, p.55, 66) give the syllable "a",[36] and texts from the commentarial and practice traditions seem also to give the syllable, "a", for the moon.[37] Yet presumably, "ta" is not an error, or if it is an error, it is a shared transmitted error, since we witness it in another Dunhuang source, and its persistence (or at least the persistence of the syllable, "ṭa") in a NGB text.

Lines 9 and 10:

The ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) and their consorts are very important in the Vajrakīlaya traditions and of course occur throughout many other Vajrayāna texts in addition. In this version of this rite, the ten wrathful deities and their consorts are mentioned as arising directly, presumably upon the visualised sun and moon on the palms of the hands. In other versions of the rite (see above Ch.5 and 6, p.75, 102-106), it is the five buddha family male and female deities who arise and unite, after which further emanations are produced. Here, the process would seem less gradual, and there is no mention of the elaborate hand gestures or *mudrā*, although these may be implied. As noted above in relation to PT 44 and IOL Tib J 331.III (see Ch.4, p.55, Ch.5, p.82-83), PT 349 shares with PT 44 a reversal of the positioning of the sun and moon, here indicating also a reversal of the gender associations found in most sources, the sun linked with female wisdom, and the moon with male skilful means. As so often with symbolic imagery, it seems that the specific connotations are less crucial than the relationship of opposition and unification between the two components.

Translation of lines 11–14

Meditating on [these] and so forth, for the Tantra [meditation tradition's] virtuous qualities of [Phur bu]:

(12) by spreading [the deities over one's hands] in this way, one's obstacles in this life will be pacified; [thereby] the accumulations of merit can be attained [--]

(13) [so that] one passes on to an abode in the transcendent heavens [where] the accumulation of primordial wisdom can [also] be attained;

(14) and thus the two accumulations of merit and primordial wisdom can both be attained: [hence these are the] virtuous qualities.

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[36] Some parallel texts, such as the NGB's *Myang 'das* Ch.9 (see above, Appendix to Ch. 6, p.128) do not give a syllable for generating the sun and moon at all; it only mentions the syllables, hūṃ and āḥ (or a), which arise above the generated sun and moon (IOL Tib J 331.III gives both sets of syllables). PT 44 only gives the sun and moon syllables, not any arising upon them.

[37] For instance, the *'Bum nag*, Mag gsar 2003, the Sa skya *Phur chen* (see Ch. 5, above, p.82-83).

Comments on lines 11–14

Here we find a rationale for the apotropaic aspects of the Vajrakīlaya rites: specifically aimed at removing this-worldly obstacles, they only do so in order to enable spiritual practice, as the first stage of a gradualist spiritual program. This kind of rationale is also found in hagiographic materials about early Vajrakīlaya practitioners: see for example the story of gNyags Jñānakumāra as contained in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (Dudjom 1991: 601–605). The reference to the rebirth in a pure realm is noteworthy: in most Vajrakīlaya literature this is a virtue enjoyed by practioners of Vajrakīlaya and their "liberated" victims alike. IOL Tib J 331.III makes this connection clear in its title, *Zhi ba'i mchog 'pho ba'i 'phrin las bsdus pa'o* – where *'phrin las* refers to the Phur pa ritual, and *'pho ba* to the yogic transference of consciousness to the pure realm (see above, Chapter 1, p.9).

Translation of lines 14–22

Regarding the material [object] for accomplishing Phur bu:

(15) having acted accordingly [as above], the obstacles are pacified, the patron's wishes will be accomplished,

(16,17) heavenly abodes will be attained, and even the two great accumulations will be completed. Since [the *phur bu*] does not depart from the very nature of skilful means and wisdom, [it is] the material basis for qualities and accomplishment.

(18) When [one] rolls and brandishes the *phur bu* between one's two hands, [these are] the materials for the suppressing and repelling *phur bu*:

(19) make it out of iron from a weapon [that has felled?] a man; above its knotted cords, establish Heruka; on the four sides,

(20) establish those endowed with the [four] particular enlightened activities; on the eight facets of the neck, establish the eight great māmos;

(21) having established the eight mukhas (*mu ka brgyad*) on its point, at the tip (*sna la*), [one] strikes one's own self. For the meditational tantra [tradition] [-], since this is the perfection of material,

(22) consecrate it as the deity, request accomplishment, and [one will be able to] strike at [the whole] Realm of Desire (*kāmadhātu*) below.

Comments on lines 14–22

Lines 14–17:

This reiterates much of the above, but although the text is too terse to be certain, it would seem most likely that these comments are now opening a section on the features and application of the material *phur bu* which has been consecrated by the above ritual meditations. It may be, however, that our translation of "rgyu" as "material [object]" or "material basis" is mistaken,[38] and the intended meaning is simply, "the basis". The statement concerning skilful means and wisdom seems to allude back to the earlier meditation on the sun, moon and wrathful deities arising on the two hands, and presumably consecrating the *phur bu* itself, as we find spelt out more explicitly in our other sources such as IOL Tib J 331.III. It may rather be that the implied object(s) embodying means and wisdom is/are the deities themselves, but reading the line as referring to the consecrated *phur bu* would seem to fit most comfortably with the following discussion of the material implement.

Lines 18–22:

This next section clearly has much in common with IOL Tib J 331.III's perfection of form, indeed, the term for perfection (*phun sum tshogs pa*) is the same in both cases, but here we have *rgyu* in place of *gzugs* for the substance. Again, we have reference to appropriate materials and the way in which the *phur bu* should be fashioned. The text here in PT 349 is slightly obscure (*mtshon myi la babs pa'i lcags*), but it seems a possible conjecture that the material is meant to be iron from a weapon that has actually struck, and

[38] It does, however, fit with the clear sense of "rgyu" as material in lines 18 and 21.

perhaps killed, a person. This would appear to be in keeping with the interlineal notes of IOL Tib J 331.III and NGB Phur pa sources (see above, Ch. 6, p.92-93).

Although there is only a short description of the *kīla* shape here, nevertheless, at the very least we have the knotted cords, the four-square base, and an eight-facetted shaft, features that make unmistakable reference to the *yūpa* or Indian sacrificial stake (Mayer 1991; see Ch.2 above p.16).

The establishment of deities on the different parts of the *kīla* is ubiquitous in all Phur pa literature (see also Ch. 4, p.54), but the details of which deity is put where seems to vary from text to text and *sādhana* tradition to *sādhana* tradition, which is perhaps understandable in that the different Vajrakīlaya maṇḍalas are populated by slightly different arrangements of deities. Nevertheless the placement of Heruka in his "palace" above the knotted cords (as here also) does seem to be a constant. The deities of the four enlightened activities will probably be those of the standard list of peaceful, increasing, powerful and wrathful activities; they may correspond to the well-known four goddesses with iron hook, noose, iron chain and bell, who summon and bind (see Ch. 7, p.138-139). Mention is made here of the eight *mu ka*; possibly a popular Sanskritism (*mukha* = face or head), referring to the famous animal-headed goddesses as found in many Vajrakīlaya texts all of whose names end in -*mukha*; for example, eight occur in Chapter 7 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, in the context of the definitive arrangement of the central Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala.

More problematic is the culmination of this section, *sna la bdag rang la gdab//*. In Old Tibetan, *sna la* can be equivalent to *sne mo la*,[39] in this case almost certainly referring to the tip of the *phur bu*. Presumably, the implication is that one is using the *phur bu*'s tip, but it is not entirely clear what striking oneself indicates in this instance. There are two main possibilities; first, that the *phur bu*, visualised as embodying the maṇḍala of deities (as described), is touched to one's own body, and thus, one is similarly consecrated and accomplishment follows. This would fit the context here very well. There are important ritual occasions in both rNying ma and Sa skya rites for such touching of the body places with the *phur bu*. For instance, the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri* commentary describes how one should imbibe the substances of accomplishment at the end of a retreat, and this includes touching the main ritual *phur bu* (referred to as the "practice support") to one's three body places.[40] The extensive Sa skya version of the *phur bu* consecration rite culminates in the freshly empowered *kīla* solemnly touched (not struck) to the five places and three doors (i.e. the crown of the head and the four sides of the head, along with the forehead, throat and heart).[41] The second possibility is that the reference here relates to a more general soteriological point of view, from which the ultimate function of the *phur pa* is to enable one to strike at the delusion, desire and aggression within

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[39] bTsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims (1997: 423) supplies an example of emanations at the tips of light rays: "*bka' chems ka khol ma* las/ 'od zer re re'i sna la 'jig rten gyi khams re re chags par sprul/ zhes pa lta bu'o/

[40] "Touching the practice support [*phur bu*] to (one's own) three places, and enjoying the substances of the siddhi, meditate that the deities and the siddhis melt into light and dissolve into [one's own] heart life-force, becoming inseparable" (sgrub rten gnas gsum du gtug cing dam rdzas rnams la longs spyod nas/ lha dang dngos grub 'od du zhu ba bdag gi thugs srog la thim pas dbyer med du gyur par bsam/) *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Vol. Da: 172.1–2).

[41] *Sa skya Phur chen*, 24r–25r. Elsewhere in other versions of the five Buddha family consecrations, the places may be ritually consecrated simply through folding together the palms of the hands and touching them to the places. In this case, it is clear that the *phur bu* is held (phur bu bzungs la/, 24r.6), touched to the places in turn (spyi gtsug la sogs pa'i gnas lnga dang/ sgo gsum du reg cing/, 24v.3–4), and only afterwards returned to its place on the shrine, meditating that the consecrations and empowerments of all the tathāgatas have been conferred (de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi dbang dang byin rlabs kyi dbang bskur bar bsam zhing phur pa gdan la bzhag go/ 25r.1–2). A myes zhabs is explicit in his commentary that the *phur pa* is held in the hands, adding moreover that the *phur pa*s of the different directions (presumably of the maṇḍala on the shrine) are to be used in consecrating the places around the head, while the central *phur pa* is used for the crown of the head, and the three main body places (lag na yod pa'i dbus kyi phur pa de spyi gtsug tu reg de bzhin du shar gyi phur pa de dpral ba dang/ lho'i phur pa rna ltag g.yas/ nub kyi phur pa ltag pa/ byang gi phur pa rna ltag g.yon te gnas lnga dang/ yang dbus kyi phur pa dpral ba/ mgrin pa/ snying ga ste sgo gsum gyi gnas gsum du reg cig/, A myes zhabs 348.1–3).

oneself.[42] This is seen as the ultimate usage of the implement, a soteriological interpretation that goes back to the *Guhyasamāja*. Within the context, however, the first possibility would seem more apt. The second cannot be ruled out, however, especially since it is more usual to use terms for touching (*gtug* or *reg*, for instance, in the examples above) in the context of self-consecration using the *phur bu*, rather than the term for striking, which we witness here (*gdab*). It is also possible that both meanings are intended, the ultimate soteriological one as an added level of the symbolism.

Line 22:
As we have seen (Ch. 5 and 6, p.74, 93-94), IOL Tib J 331.III's "Perfection of Form", is followed by its section on the "Perfection of Consecrations". PT 349 likewise instructs that the implement is to be consecrated as the deity. In a sense, the ordering here is not quite so apparently logical as IOL Tib J 331.III's, in that the earlier part of PT 349 already seemed to specify a visualisation of the *phur bu* as a deity and a consecration type of rite, although this structure would appear to be a feature of the four-fold categorisation given at the outset.

The idea of "striking" the whole Realm of Desire might perhaps relate to a perennial theme of the Phur pa meditative tradition, a transformation – or transportation to nirvāṇa – of worldly realms, through "striking" them with the Phur pa rite and its tantric realisation. This is sometimes given the technical term, the "Phur pa of Existence" or "Existence Kīlaya" (*srid pa'i phur pa*), an expression which relates to the realisation of existence as the Phur pa maṇḍala, so that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are co-emergent and unified in Phur pa.[43] Here, such transformation is not explicitly discussed – and certainly there is no mention of the Phur pa deity as such – but the following description of the rite directed at obstacles does stipulate that transformation into ultimate peace is the object.

Translation of lines 23–25
(23) As for the method of striking at the obstacles: the entire substance having been assembled as the deit[ies], when rolling it between the hands, do not give rise to angry thoughts.
(24) With great compassion adhered to as the basis, through the arising of light-rays and [their] emanation and reabsorption,
(25) the form of whoever [the rite's] object is struck, [and] by generating bodhicitta, imagine that they become transformed into [their] nature of great peace.

Comments on lines 23–25:
The description of the actual wrathful rite makes clear its adherence to conventional Buddhist ethics. Even while striking at the obstacles (*bgegs*), PT 349 insists the practitioner should not give rise to angry thoughts, but should proceed with a mind of compassion. Although not spelt out by name, the rite of forceful liberation or "killing" (*sgrol ba* or *mokṣaṇa*) is clearly being referred to. We find similar sentiments in the opening passages of IOL Tib J 331.III and in IOL Tib J 754 (see above, Ch. 6, p.88-90 and Ch.7, p.139, 144). The clear evidence of the Dunhuang *kīla* "killing" rites taken as a whole seems to be that they were fully ethicised and soteriologised. As we would expect from materials so closely linked to *Guhyasamāja*, this early Tibetan Phur pa tradition of *sgrol ba* was not a sorcery tradition, but a Mahāyāna Buddhist one, albeit in the final analysis most likely (via its Indian antecedents) a bloodless calque on non-Buddhist Tantric blood sacrificial rites of the type still so widespread in Śākta religion. The rite of *sgrol ba* of course continues as a central practice in contemporary rNying ma pa ritual, especially in the *Vajrakīlaya* traditions, and it is

[42] For instance, the *dam chos sprul sku'i snying thig las/ 'phags mchog nam mkha'i rgyal po'i sgrub chen gyi khog dbub phan bde'i chu gter* within the bDud 'joms Collected Works, giving instructions for generating the object of the liberating killing rite within the effigy, makes the point, "It is taught that the natural expression of one's own three poisons are actually generated, arising as the three classes of Rudra, and it is not necessary to summon or dissolve [the object] from outside." (rang gi dug gsum gyi rang mdangs ru dra sde gsum du shar ba'i nges pa bskyed pa las phyi nas 'gugs bstim mi dgos par bzhed/, Volume Nya: 93.3–4)
[43] The term occurs in many texts, for instance, on four occasions in the *Myang 'das* (Cantwell and Mayer, 2007: 187, 190–1, 216).

remarkable how little the rite described in these Dunhuang texts has changed over the last millennium, if at all.

The mention of the projection and re-absorption of light rays in line 24 is similar to the instruction given at the same point in the ritual as described in IOL Tib J 754, although in that case, it was focused on radiating emanations, but not re-absorption (see above Ch. 7, p.144).

Translation of lines 26–32

(26) Then utter these verses of the Phur bu proclamation:
These wrathful kings
(27) summon and totally destroy the obstacles.
Those supremely endowed with good intellect
(28) Strike with the *phur bu* in accordance with the rite.
The great Vajra King, the Amṛta being,
Abides as the Vajra Phur bu itself,
(29) Blue in colour like an utpala,
Gazing down at the hosts of obstacles.
The parts below [his] navel
(30) are like a point, and utterly [.....].
If, endowed with his mantras,
One definitively strikes with Vajra Phur [bu],
(31) The [bodies?] of the obstacles will become entirely immobilised
ōṃ gha gha gha ta ya gha ta ya / sa rva du shta ni phaṭ // kī la ki la ya
(32) sa rva ba pham phaṭ// hūṃ hūṃ [ba]dzra dha rod a [-] pa ya ti [...

Comments on lines 26–32:

As discussed above (p.36), variants of these verses are found also in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, and later Phur pa sources (see the Appendix below).

In this section (line 28) and in some of its parallel passages, the male deity form with the heruka upper body and the *kīla* lower body is called *rdo rje rgyal chen bdud rtsi po*, the Great Vajra King, the Amṛta being. We have seen above (p.147) that association between Amṛtakuṇḍalin and the Phur pa deity is a feature of the inheritance of the *Guhyasamāja* materials, although in the developed Phur pa tradition, this identification is played down; bDud rtsi (Amṛta) or bDud rtsi 'khyil ba (Amṛtakuṇḍalin) is one of the ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) in the Phur pa deity's immediate retinue.

The culminating mantra does not survive intact in PT 349, but is easily recognisable as the famous mantra from of the *Guhyasamāja's* Chapter 14, identified elsewhere as the rDo rje sder mo, or "Vajra claw" mantra (see Ch. 5, p. 85 note 61 above, and Ch. 9, p.174-175 below).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 8

Some parallel Sanskrit and Tibetan texts to PT 349 lines 27–32

([1] and [2] prepared by Gudrun Melzer)

***Piṇḍikramasādhana* (PKS) of Nāgārjuna:**
Facsimile Edition in Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994: A PKS 2a4–2b3
Manuscript of de la Vallée Poussin's edition B PKS 2a3–2b1

[1] ***Piṇḍikramasādhana***
(de la Vallée Poussin 1896, pp. 1–2)

Anena krodharūpeṇa
ākṛṣyaivaṃ vināyakān |
kīlayed vidhivat sarvān
prayogeṇa tu buddhimān || (10)
vajrāmṛtamahārājaṃ
vajrakīlaṃ vībhāvayet |
nīlotpaladalaśyāmaṃ
jvālāmālākulaprabham || (11)
nābhideśād adhobhāgaṃ
śūlākāraṃ vibhāvayet |
ūrdhvaṃ krodhākṛtiṃ[1] caiva
trimukhākāraṣaḍbhujam || (12)
adho vighnagaṇān vīkṣya
tan mantraṃ samudāharan[2] |
nikhaned vajrakīlaṃ tu
vighnadeheṣu niścalam || (13)
oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ[3] kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ[4] hūṃ hūṃ[5] vajrakīla vajradhara[6] ājñāpayati sarvavighnānāṃ kāyavākcittaṃ[7] kīlaya hūṃ[8] phaṭ

[2] ***sgrub pa'i thabs mdor byas pa*** **(*Piṇḍikṛtasādhana*)**
sDe dge *rGyud 'grel* vol. Ngi, 3.4–4.2; Peking 2661, p.269.

khro bo'i gzugs can 'di yis ni //
bgegs kyi dbang po nyid bkug nas //
blo dang ldan pas sbyor ba yis //
cho ga bzhin du phur bus gdab //
rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyal po che //
utpal sngon po 'dab ma'i mdog //

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[1] A, B ūrdhvakrodhākṛtiṃ
[2] A samudāharet
[3] A +phaṭ
[4] A +phaṭ
[5] A +hūṃ
[6] A vajradharo
[7] A kāyavākcittavajraṃ
[8] A +hūṃ hūṃ

'bar phreng 'khrigs pa'i 'od ldan pa //
rdo rje phur bu rnam par bsgom //
lte ba'i phyogs nas smad kyi cha //
rtse mo lta bur rnam par bsam //
stod ni khro bo'i dbyibs can te //
zhal gsum phyag drug lta bur bsgom //
de yi gsang sngags legs brjod la //
bgegs kyi tshogs la 'og gzigs pas //
rdo rje phur bu nges btab na //
bgegs kyi lus ni myi g.yo 'gyur //
oṃ gha gha ghā ta ya ghā ta ya / sa rva du ṣṭāṃ phaṭ phaṭ /
kī la ya kī la ya / sa rva pā paṃ phaṭ phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ /
badzra kī la ya / badzra dha ro ā dznyā pa ya ti / sarva bighnān /
kā ya vāk ci tta / badzra[9] kī la ya hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ

The ***Piṇḍikṛtasādhanopāyikāvṛttiratnāvalī*** or ***mDor bsdus pa'i sgrub thabs kyi 'grel pa rin chen phreng ba*** attributed to Ratnākaraśānti (Peking 2690: 297b l.7. to 298b l.2) contains a slightly different version of the verses to the above. Here, the verses are broken up with word by word commentary interspersed. Thanks to Gudrun Melzer for discovering this passage:

/rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyal po che/
/utpal sngon po'i 'dab ma'i mdog
/'bar phreng 'khrigs pa'i 'od ldan pa/
/rdo rje phur bus rnam par bsgom/
....
lte ba'i phyogs nas smad kyi cha/
/rtse mo lta bur rnam bsam zhing/
/stod ni khro bo'i dbyibs can te/
/zhal gsum phyag drug lta bu bsgom/
....
de yi gsang sngags legs brjod la/
/bltas pas 'og tu bgegs kyi tshogs/
/rdo rje'i phur bus nges btab na/
/bgegs kyi lus la mi g-yo 'gyur/
....
oṃ gha gha gha ta ya sarba du ṣṭaṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ /
kī la ya kī la ya sarba pā paṃ phaṭ phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ badzra kī la ya badzra dharo adznyā pa ya ti/
sarba bighnāṃ kā ya bā ka ci ttaṃ kī la ya hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ

[3] ***gZi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud***

This text of about twenty folios has no chapter divisions or titles. The text cited below is taken from folios 274r-v of vol. Zha of the mTshams brag edition (Vol 21 pages 551–552 in the modern pagination). It is very close to the text from the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* cited above:

/hūṃ/ khro bo'i rgyal po 'di bdag gis/
/bgegs kun bkug nas rnam par 'jig
/blo ldan rab tu 'byor pa yis/
/cho ga bzhin du phur kun btab/

[9] Peking omits

/rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyal po yi/
/rdo rje'i phur bu nyid gnas pa/
/utpal sngon po'i mdog 'dra bar/
/bar ba'i 'phreng ba 'khrig pa'i 'od/
/lte ba man chad chas rnams ni/
/phur rtse lta bur rnam par sgom/
/ro stod khro bo lta bu nyid/
/zhal gsum phyag kyang drug pa ste/
/bgegs kyi tshogs la 'og tu gzugs/
/de yi sngags ni brjod bya ste/
/rdo rje phur pa nges btab nas/
/bgegs lus bzhin du mi g-yo ba'o/
/oṃ gha gha gha ta ya sarba dustan hūṃ phaṭ/
/kilaya kilaya sarba pāpaṃ hūṃ phaṭ/
/hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ badzra kilaya/
/badzra darod adnya payati/
/ka ya bag citaṃ badzra ki la ya hūṃ phaṭ/

[4] ***Phur pa gsang chen rdo rje 'phreng ba'i rgyud*****, Chapter 16**
Rig 'dzin edition of the NGB, Vol. Sha folios 43v to 60r

tib ta cakra phur pa'i lha//
dmar po gcer bu ral pa can//
kun kyang khro bo chen po la//
zhal gsum phyag ni drug pa ste//
ral gri sku la phur pa'i so//
lte ba yan chad chas rnams ni//
na za rdo rje go cha gtams//
lte ba man chad chas rnams ni//
utpal sngon po'i mdog 'dra ba//
'bar ba'i 'phreng bas 'khrig pa'i 'od//
lcags kyi phur pa zur gsum pa//
btab na lha yang rlag pa'i phyir//
gnod byed dgra bgegs smos ci dgos//
kī la ya/
mā ra ya phaṭ/

[5] ***Phur pa'i las byang***, in Grags pa rgyal mtshan's Collected Works
rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub skor, Sa skya bka' 'bum, vol. 4, p 182 (388v–389r).

dīb ta tsakra phur ba'i lha/
/dmar po gcer bu ral pa can/
/sku stod khro bo chen po la/
/zhal gsum phyag kyang drug pa ste/
/ral gri'i sgra la phur bu'i so/
lte ba man chad sku yi cha rnams ni/
/utpal sngon po'i 'dab ma 'dra/
/'bar ba'i phreng ba 'khrugs pa'i 'od/
/lcags kyi phur pa zur gsum pa/
/drag po gyur pa'i phur bu ste/
/btab na yang brlag 'gyur te/

/gnod byed bgegs la smos ci dgos/
/oṃ badzra kī la ya sarba bighnāṃ baṃ hūṃ phaṭ/

SCRIPTURAL TEXTS

9 SECTIONS OF IOL TIB J 438: A DUNHUANG VERSION OF THE GUHYASAMĀJA WITH COMMENTARY

Introduction to the Text

This Dunhuang version of the *Guhyasamāja* (IOL Tib J 438, together with the single folio of IOL Tib J 481) is a beautifully made and well-preserved manuscript, missing only a few folios. There is some possibility that it might represent an early translation of the root seventeen chapter *Guhyasamāja*, which was quite possibly the basis for Rin chen bzang po's and later revisions of the text. Kenneth Eastman's preliminary study (1980), which reviewed the various available translations of the *Guhyasamāja* and the relationship between them, concluded that Rin chen bzang po's translation – and all later versions – were dependent on this early translation. His argument is that the Dunhuang text is earlier than Rin chen bzang po's and that the considerable agreement between the Dunhuang and later versions would be unlikely if Rin chen bzang po's had been done without any prior translation to rely upon.[1] At the same time, variants between the Dunhuang text and other extant versions show that the Dunhuang manuscript has some distinctive readings, and Eastman notes (1980: 1) an "unsettled use of terminology" (less standardized?) or inconsistencies. Today, given the period in which recent research indicates that the Dunhuang texts were written, ie. the latter tenth century (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: xxi), we can no longer be quite so certain that the Dunhuang translation pre-dated Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), although it remains quite possible that the Dunhuang manuscript constitutes a copy which may have derived from an original translation at a much earlier time. Unfortunately, however, we do not yet have definite proof of when and where the original translation was produced, only that we have a copy from the late tenth century. Eastman makes an apparent assumption that where the tradition stemming from 'Gos lhas btsas (c.1050) has a variant in common with that stemming from Chag lo tsa ba (1197–1264), this must have represented Rin chen bzang po's text.[2] Even leaving aside any question of whether the extant texts may have a more complicated ancestry than their colophons might indicate, this is unproblematic logically only if we can be certain that the two revisors used manuscripts with entirely separate lineages of descent from Rin chen bzang po's own original[3] *and* if we can be certain that Chag did not consult 'Gos's work (or a manuscript descended from or commentary based on 'Gos's revision).[4] Since we are not specialists in *Guhyasamāja*, we are unsure whether this assumption is warranted. If it is valid, then the Dunhuang manuscript would seem most likely to represent an older and distinctive translation, and it would be extremely valuable as such.[5] Another

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1 Eastman writes (1980: 4–5): "...we see at a glance that the exemplars latest in date reproduce, without alteration, a large portion of the earliest manuscript. Assuming that two Tibetan translators, working independently and without a previous translation before them, will not use identical words and syntactic order to translate a given Sanskrit verse, it is obvious that only a single original translation is represented: the Dun-huang text."

2 Eastman says (1980: 5–6): "We have no witness for Rin-chen bzaṅ-po's text, here *R, but we can reconstruct *R for every concurrence of C and D". Eastman's "C" stands for the transmission from 'Gos lhas btsas, represented according to its colophon by the sNar thang text, while his "D" stands for the ancestor of the Peking and sDe dge texts, attributed by their colophons to the revision of Chag lo tsa ba.

3 Had they both stemmed, say, from a copy of a copy of Rin chen bzang po's original, variants shared by 'Gos and Chag might have been introduced by a copyist rather than Rin chen bzang po.

4 Had he done so, he might have followed 'Gos's readings silently on a number of occasions, so that some agreements between 'Gos and Chag might have stemmed from 'Gos and not Rin chen bzang po.

5 The eighteen verses examined by Eastman demonstrate the distinctiveness of the Dunhuang manuscript, and also the distinctiveness of the tradition (represented by the witnesses of the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur*s) of the textual tradition which Eastman identifies on the basis of the colophons as stemming from Chag lo tsa ba. Note that the verses in the sTog Palace *bKa' 'gyur* edition (Volume 96, Ca: 10r–11v) which Eastman was unable to consider, like the sNar thang *bKa' 'gyur* edition he does consult, do not evidence these readings shared by the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur*s. It is quite likely that the differences represent the two main branches of *bKa' 'gyur* transmission; in this case, sNar thang inheriting a Them spang ma line of descent,

possibility is that Rin chen bzang po's translation was prior to some of the shared readings of the later versions, and that it shared at least some of the Dunhuang readings.[6] In this case, too, the Dunhuang manuscript is to be greatly valued as potentially clarifying aspects of the Rin chen bzang po version of the text. Interestingly, the work by Tomabechi (1999: 56, 76–78) on Tabo fragments of *Guhyasamāja* tradition texts suggests that the Tabo readings of the root text are sometimes close to the Dunhuang manuscript and in contrast to the later tradition's. Tomabechi sees this agreement as suggesting that Rin chen bzang po (who is attributed with the foundation of Tabo monastery) preserved early readings witnessed in the Dunhuang manuscript, before the recensional amendments of 'Gos. At the very least, this Dunhuang text will be of crucial importance for scholars seeking to clarify the *Guhyasamāja*'s early Tibetan ancestry, and it remains possible that, even if the manuscript was a copy dated to the late tenth century,[7] its exemplars might go back to a much earlier time.[8]

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and sDe dge a Tshal pa transmission. Eastman's study does not, however, produce irrefutable logical proof that Rin chen bzang po's translation was dependent on the Dunhuang manuscript tradition rather than vice versa. A full critical edition and study would be necessary to explore more thoroughly the relationships between the extant versions. It is also worth noting that Eastman only had the gTing skyes edition of the NGB available to him, which he uses to represent the NGB tradition. A provisional glance at the mTshams brag manuscript's Chapter 3 (Volume Tsha: 770–1) shows that a number of the gTing skyes variants demonstrated by Eastman (who takes as his sample the verses of Chapter 3) are scribal errors not shared by mTshams brag (eg. *rnams* for *rab* in verse 13; *gsang* for *gsal* in verse 15), but that a few seem quite likely to represent a South Central and Bhutanese NGB line of descent (including one additional *tshig rkang* in verse 2, which is given as an interlinear note in the Dunhuang version). The mTshams brag version, however, does not share gTing skyes's reading of *rdo rje* in verse 15, where all the other editions give *zla ba'i*, and Eastman tells us that gTing skyes's reading alone fits the Sanskrit text (on this basis, he suggests an input from another source into the NGB tradition). We have not yet been able to consult the sDe dge NGB version: it is quite likely that any idea of a single NGB tradition will need further qualification if, as in the case of the *'Phags pa Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng gyi don bsdus pa*, the sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* and the sDe dge NGB texts transpire to have been made from the same blocks (we will discuss this in our forthcoming work on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*). The picture is further complicated by the fact that the colophon to the root tantra in mTshams brag's version (Volume Tsha: 938) seems to indicate that it was edited by Chag lo tsa ba, ie. that it shares its descent with the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* versions considered by Eastman, rather than the line he represents as the NGB inheritance! However, a further cursory examination of the variants in Chapter 3 shows only occasional and possibly coincidental agreements between mTshams brag and Eastman's Chag descent, "D" (eg. in verse 5, the line "dkon mchog dpal gyi rgya chen dang", shared by Dunhuang, the gTing skyes NGB, and Eastman's "C", becomes "rin chen tog gi phyag rgya che" in "D", while the mTshams brag NGB reading shares "D"'s "phyag rgya che" but retains "dkon mchog dpal gyi"). In general, it does not seem to evidence the distinctive readings of "D", but of course, these verses are only a small sample of the text.

6 Given the closeness of the dates, it is even *conceivable* – if rather unlikely – that the Dunhuang may just represent a copy of Rin chen bzang po's translation itself. It does not, however, give any colophon which would indicate this. Note also that the late 10th to early 11th century Indian paṇḍita who visited Tibet, Smṛtijñānakīrti (see Ch. 1 above, p.12), was in fact well known as a teacher of *Guhyasamāja* in Khams, so it is also just possible that the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* derives from him (see also note 8 below). Clues in this connection might be found by examining his extant works in the *bsTan 'gyur*.

7 We understand from Sam van Schaik (personal communication, March 2007) that the paleographical analysis of this particular manuscript has been inconclusive in terms of dating it, but given that none of the Dunhuang materials have been certainly dated prior to the tenth century, the onus of proof is on those who would argue for an earlier date.

8 Carmen Meinert, who has worked on Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang materials and is currently working on a full study of IOL Tib J 438, is of the opinion that the translation was quite likely to have been done well before the late tenth century (personal communication 11/04/08). It is also worth noting that witnesses of this famous scripture as found in the NGB (Rig 'dzin Vol. Tsa; sDe dge Vol. Na; gTing skyes Vol. Tsa), give very specific colophonic information that the main *Guhyasamāja mūlatantra* (i.e. chapters 1–17 without the *Uttaratantra* or 18th chapter) was first translated by Vimalamitra and sKa ba dpal rtsegs (*paṇḍita bi mā la dang lo tsa ba ska wa dpal rtsegs kyi bsgyur pa'o//*), and moreover, that in these particular editions, the *Uttaratantra* (i.e. Chapter 18) was translated later by Buddhaguhya and a certain 'Brog mi dpal ye shes (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po sangs rgyas gsang ba dang/ /bod kyi lotstsha ba 'brog mi dpal yeshes bsgyur ba'o//*). The Rig 'dzin and sDe dge edition colophons also suggest that the famous Rin chen bzang po translation was a reworking of the earlier translation (*slad kyi mkhan po ātsārya shraddha ka ra war ma dang / zhu chen gyi lo tstsha ba dge slong rin chen bzang pos bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o//*), although it is not absolutely clear if this refers to the whole text or only to the *Uttaratantra*. Of course, colophons are not always reliable as historical sources, but additional information comes from the *Blue Annals* (Roerich: 204–5, 358–9), which also mentions that there existed translations of the *Guhyasamāja* made earlier than Rin chen bzang po's. In one reference, the *Blue Annals*

A further important feature of this Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* is its copious interlinear notes. Eastman gives a brief resumé of the types of comments found (1980: 2), but notes with regret that he was unable to read them clearly, since he had access only to a poor reproduction of the basis of a microfilm copy of the text.[9] A full study of the notes throughout the text by a *Guhyasamāja* specialist is desirable: until this has been done, it is uncertain whether they might represent a particular *Guhyasamāja* commentarial tradition, or simply reflect a more idiosyncratic interpretation, which might either have come from the "tantric circles" which Dalton and van Schaik suggest (2006: p.185) produced further *Guhyasamāja* related materials found in the Dunhuang cache,[10] or have derived from earlier Tibetan scholarship.

In this study, we make no attempt to pre-judge the findings of *Guhyasamāja* scholars on the main text and its annotations: we simply consider the content from Chapters 13 and 14 which has textual parallels or similarity of theme with the *phur pa* rites we have considered above. Martin Boord (2002: 26–54) has already drawn attention to passages from Sanskrit *Guhyasamāja* sources relating to *phur pa* rituals; the main point here is that this Dunhuang Tibetan version is most likely contemporaneous with our other materials, and may give us further hints about aspects of it.[11]

Description of the Manuscript

One feature which is abundantly clear is the professionalism of the manuscript's production. At the risk of stating the obvious, the manuscript suggests an institutional production, involving preparation of the sheets – carefully cut pages, evenly spaced ruled lines and margins – and a high standard and consistency of writing style.

The folios of thick paper sheets are long in width, measuring approximately 46.7cm across, by 8.9cm height, and they are generally very well preserved, with a little discoloration, but few holes or degradation of the paper.[12] The edges of most sheets appear to have been cut fairly straight and there is very little fraying in evidence. The sheets each have two string holes. There are five ruled ink lines on each side, seemingly precisely measured to give even spaces, with a little more space allowed to the top and bottom of the page. These lines run from edge to edge, running across the left and right margins. They seem to have been made with a very fine pen, in a slightly lighter colour than the writing. The margins are ruled to the right and left – they are straight, but often not exactly vertical, and the distance from the edge of the page is variable, so presumably, has not been exactly measured. The left recto margin gives the folio number; no volume or collection is indicated. The main writing is kept within the ruled writing area (apart from occasional *shad*s which run over), but the interlinear notes frequently run into the margins, especially on the right.

(Roerich: 204–5) attributes an earlier translation to Smṛtijñānakīrti, who along with his near contemporary Rin chen bzang po, traditionally marks the watershed between Old and New translation periods. Later, the *Blue Annals* (Roerich: 358–9) further mentions the contribution of the translator lCe bkra shis in translating the *Guhyasamāja* during the Early Propagation period.

9 Now that excellent digital images are available on the International Dunhuang Project site (http://idp.bl.uk/), international scholarship has no such impediments, although it remains true that consultation of the original manuscript often clarifies readings which may still be uncertain on good quality images.

10 Any future study of the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* will need to address these materials too. In particular, the texts represented by IOL Tib J 419 and PT 42 contain discussion and citation of *Guhyasamāja* passages, apparently closely related to this *Guhyasamāja* manuscript (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 156, 159, 160). Moreover, Dalton and van Schaik suggest (185) that the interlinear notes may have been written by the same hand as those of IOL Tib J 438. They also draw attention to another incomplete Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* manuscript, PT 5. This has now been examined by Carmen Meinert, who reports that it covers 129 lines, which seem to represent the same transmission as IOL Tib J 438, and perhaps were copied from it, sharing the same spelling errors (personal communication 6/04/08).

11 For instance, we noted above (Ch. 5, p.84-85; see also below Ch. 9, p.174-175) that the interlinear notes to the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* identify the "*gha gha ghātaya*..." mantra which we find in many of our Phur pa sources, as that of rDo rje sder mo.

12 The single folio which has been catalogued as IOL Tib J 481 – apparently folio 2 – is an exception, having presumably been kept at the top of the manuscript at some stage. The paper is rather damaged; it has been torn – and repaired, presumably by the modern library Conservation Department – it is missing its right and left edges, and much of the ink has been badly smudged.

The main text is written in a carefully executed *dbu can* style, with frequent (but not invariable) use of the reversed *gi gu* and attached *ya* (eg. in *myi*). The writing is fairly consistent across the pages, although in some parts it is rather smaller, possibly written with a slightly finer pen (unless the ink flow was inconsistent). The annotations are written small in a more cursive script, with less full formation of letters, rather similar to the interlinear notes found in other Dunhuang manuscripts such as IOL Tib J 331. A finer pen appears to have been used for them. The same technique we found in IOL Tib J 331 is used (see examples noted above throughout Chapter 6, p.90, 92-93, 95-96, 98, 105, 108), of indicating with a small cross that a note continues on the following line.

There are not elaborate ornamentations or embellishments, but breaks in the content are indicated by the use of red ink *shad*s accompanying black *shad*s, sometimes also with a red ink dot between the *shad*s, and in the case of chapter endings, red circles enclosing two vertically arranged black circles positioned between the *shad*s. Before the final colophon after Chapter 17, a red ink flower design (a small circle surrounded by four petals) is given beween the *shad*s, and a similar design is also given after some of the other chapters (eg. Chapter 14, 55 'og ma r.2).

It is worth mentioning that the idea of the samaya of liberating/killing, so familiar from transmitted Phur pa sources (see above, p.18), is broached in Chapter 9. Here, a meditation on Vajra Akṣobhya, with vajra in hand, pulverising the buddhas of the three times (an interlinear comment adding that primordial wisdom brings realisation of the empty nature of their actually manifesting visualised forms), is followed by the four line verse: "The vajra secret, like this, kills all sentient beings, (so they) are born in Akṣobhya's buddha field, as sons of the conquerors. This is verily the samaya of the hatred family."[13] An interlinear note moreover stresses that the practice does not involve actual hatred, but rather, meditation on the empty nature of sentient beings,[14] a remark reminiscent of the classic Phur pa verse found throughout the tradition (see above, p.18 note 11).

Selections from Chapter 13 (Manuscript folios 36v.4–48r.3)

Chapter 13 makes reference to wrathful tantric activity, and the transformation of hatred, in terms similar to the *phur pa* rites given in this book and in the later tradition:

(38r.1) /khro bo dam tshIg ye shes kyIs/ /rang gi rdo rje dkyIl 'khor du/
Through the wrathful one's samaya primordial wisdom, in one's/his own vajra maṇḍala,
(small writing below:)
khro bo'i phyag rgya chen por gnas la rang gi snying po drag du brjod cing de la goms par byed pa de ni khro bo' bzlas pa'o//
abiding in the mahāmudrā of the wrathful one, loudly reciting one's/his own essence [mantra], familiarising [oneself] with this, is the wrathful one's recitation.

/sngags kyI yI ge'i sgra grags pa/ /'dI nI khro bo'i bzlas pa yIn//
the sounds of the mantra syllables are proclaimed. This is the wrathful one's recitation.

The delusion recitation is then followed by the desire recitation. Then:

(38r.3) /zhe sdang rdo rje[15] las byung sems/ /lus ngag sems la gnas pa'I/ /sems can zhe sdang gnas la gzhag/ /de nI zhe sdang bzlas pa (line 4) yIn/

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13 /rdo rje gsang ba 'dI lta bus/ /sems can thams cad bsad na nI/ /myI bskyod sangs rgyas zhIng dag du/ /rgyal ba'I sras rnams skye bar 'gyur// // /'dI ni zhe sdang gI rigs kyI dam tshig de kho na'o/ (22v.1-2) Thanks to Carmen Meinert for drawing our attention to this verse.

14 'di lta bu thabs kyIs 'grub par '[gy?]ur kyi dngosu zhes sdang gis bya ba ni ma yin no/ de lta bu'i dmyIgs pas sems can rang bzhin kyis stong par shes na shar phyogs kyI sangs rgyas kyi rigsu 'gyur ro// (22v.1)

15 rdo rje: written beneath the line, positioned by a cross above the line.

The mind arisen from the hatred vajra, settles sentient beings abiding in ordinary body, speech and mind, in the abode of hatred. This is the hatred recitation.

Again, after comments on desire and delusion, the text continues:

(38v.1) /khro bo zhe sdang gnas las skyes/ /gsod la rtag du brtson ba dag/ /grub pa mchog gI chos can la/ /gsod pa'I don gyIs 'grub par 'gyur/// /
The wrathful one is born from the abode of hatred. Continually striving to kill, [one will] reach accomplishment through the ultimate meaning of killing, [focusing] on the phenomena of supreme accomplishment.

A section on the first three types of ritual is followed by discussion of the fourth:

(39r.4) rdo rje khro bo mngon spyod la/
The vajra wrathful one, [is responsible] for the destructive ritual;
(small writing below:)
rdo rje rigs drag po
the vajra family, destructive (rites)

/'dI nI sngags rnams thams cad kyI/ / (line 5) gsang ba sku gsum las byung ba/ /sngags rnams kun gyI sprul ba ste/ /spyad pa'I rol mos mtshan pa'o/
the secret of all these mantras, [is] arisen from the three kāyas. All these mantras emanate forth, characterised by the music of activities.
(small writing below:)
sku gsung thugs kyi bdag nyid mnyam ba nyId la sems can gyi don du kun rdzob du thabs sna tshogs kyis rol pa'I phyir sprul//
In the essential sameness of the identity of buddha body, speech and mind,
[they] emanate to display various relative methods for the benefit of sentient beings.

The next section reviews the objects of destructive rites in classic terms used in the Phur pa literature:

/ma chags pa'I sems can dang/ /rdo rje slob dpon smod pa dang/ /gdug pa'I sems can gzhan rnams la'ang/ /rab tu bskul (39v.1) ba 'dI bya'o/// /
Sentient beings who lack desire, who abuse the vajra master, and other evil sentient beings, [are] those [who] should be invoked.
(small writing below, with the note finishing at the top of 39v:)
de la drag pa'I yul gang zhe na byang chub kyI sems la ma chags pa'I sems la ma chags pa/ rdo rje slob dpon la snyIng 'drIng pa dang gnod par byed la gdug sems can mtshams myed pa byed pa/ sdIg chen po byed pa 'dI dag la thabs kyIs de dag dang (39v.1) dbral zhIng de'i don bya'o//
Here, who are the objects for the destructive [rites]? [Those who] have no desire for the mind which is without desire, within bodhicitta; [those who have] *deceptive*[16] hearts and cause harm to the vajra master, and [who] perform the actions of immediate retribution; on those who perform [such] great sin, through skill-in-means, they should be the objects which are the fields for *liberating/separating*.[17]

The comment on the next lines makes the soteriological implications of the destructive ritual clear:

[16] *'drIng pa* = 'drid pa? (if this comment had been copied from an *dbu can* source, a visual confusion between nga and da is a possibility).

[17] The term here is actually *dbral* – probably bsgral is intended, but it is just possible that it actually means, *dbral*, separation from allies, a ritual procedure which preceeds the actual act of liberating/killing.

(39v.1) // /khams gsum gnas pa'I sems can rnams/ /sangs rgyas skur nI rnam par bsgom/ /dgra rnams gsad pa byas nas su/ /de nas las (line 2) rnams rab du bsgrub/
Sentient beings abiding [in] the three worlds, are meditated on as the form and the bodies of the buddha. Killing the hostile forces, the ritual activities are then fully accomplished.
(small writing below:)
sems can jI snyed pa kun sangs rgyas kyi dngos por bsams la/ de nas de dag kun stong par bsams na rtog pa kun myed pas rtog pa'I dgra myed par bya ste […] 'go stong pa la pyag rgya chen por bsgrub bo/ yang na sems can kun sangs rgyas kyI dngos por dmyigs la/ de dag kun mtshon cha (line 2) can du gyur nas gcag pa'I sems can la drag po bya'o//
Meditate on as many sentient beings as there are, all of them, as actually, the buddha in substance. Then meditating on them all as empty, being completely without discursive thoughts, obliterate the hostile forces of discursive thought. Empty [from?] the start/ [at?] source, [one is] accomplished as the mahāmudrā. Otherwise, meditating on sentient beings as actually the buddha in substance, they are all transformed to be carrying weapons, and [they] should be violent to sentient beings who violate [vows etc.]...

(39v.4) /sangs rgyas ye shes rdo rje can/ /slar spro ba ni rab du bya/
The buddhas endowed with primordial wisdom vajra[s], again emanate everywhere.

/khro bas 'khrug pa'I khro bo rnams/ /myI sdug 'jIgs su rung ba'I gzugs/ /mtshon ca sna tshogs 'dzIn pa/ /gsad pa'I don rnams 'ba' shIg (line 5) sems/ /gdug pa rnams nI gsod pa dang/ /rdo rje sems dpa' 'ang gsod pa bsgom/
Wrathful, (they have) bodies of aggressive wrathful one[s], ugly and terrifying, carrying various weapons. Killing the evil ones with minds solely intent on killing, meditate that [they would] even kill Vajrasattva.
(small writing below:)
spros pa de kun khro bo sna tshogs pyag rgya dang chas pa she dag[18] byung nas gdug pa can thams chad gzhIl zhing gdug sems de la gdug par byed de de dagI mthus nI rdo rje sems pa nyId kyang gzhIl rus na [lta?] cI smos//
All these emanations have various mudrās, simply having arisen, [they] expel all evil beings and do evil to those of evil minds. Through the inherent power of this, even Vajrasattva himself [would be] expelled; ... what need to speak of [others]?

/sangs rgyas sku gsum dam tshIg gI/ /rdo rje gsum gyI dkyIl 'khor gnas/ /nyI ma bdun du 'dI byas na/
Of [or through?] the samaya of the threefold buddha body, abiding [in?] the maṇḍala of the three vajras, if [one] performs this for seven days,
(small writing below:)
bs[d(/g)(/k)]om[19] ba de 'dra ba zhag bdun byas na drag po bya ba de grub par 'gyur//
Performing this meditation in this way for seven days, destructive activities will bring accomplishment.

/sangs rgyas dngos grub ster par 'gyur/
the siddhi [of] buddha[hood] will be bestowed
(small writing below:)
bsams pa bzhin nus
the ability is in accordance with the aspiration

On the next folio, there are comments about self-identity as the deity and enjoining the objects of the rites to keep to the samaya and avoid the impact of the tantric powers of destruction.

(40r.4) /bdag nI dpal ldan rdo rje 'dzIn/
I am the Glorious Vajradhara,

18 Martin (2005) notes (citing Katsumi Mimaki 1990 and 1992) that *she dag* can be for *sha stag*.
19 in this context, bsgom seems most appropriate and is probably intended

(small writing below:)
'dI ni rang bzhin can
this [means] endowed with natural [buddha] qualities.

/bka'I 'khor lo rab sbyor ba/ /gal te dam tshIg las 'da's na/ /rdo rje rab du 'bar ba yIs/ /sku gsung las byung 'ga's par bgyI/
the wheel of Buddha Word [is] fully engaged in; but if the samaya is transgressed, the really blazing vajra, arisen from buddha body and speech, will shatter [you]!
(small writing below:)
sems can gyi don bgyid pa [lags?] [rkyis(/skyes)] bdagi bsam ba rdzogs pa dang/ bdag la bs[t(/d)]ang ['(/zh)]Ing srogs mdzod [cho]g/ de ma bstangs na dga's par bgyi'o/ dga's kyang yang dag par 'jIgo zhes bskul na rung ngo//
Performing the benefit of sentient beings well, the wishes of laymen are fulfilled and [in] benefiting [your]self, [you] can make/create life (srogs? = srog or phrogs?). If [you] do not create [such] benefit, [you] will be shattered. As well as being shattered, [you] will be completely destroyed. It is appropriate to enjoin [them], saying this.

The point is reiterated a few lines on, in terms familiar in the Phur pa literature:

(40v.1) /dus gsum las 'byung sems can dang/ /gdug sems can gyI dgra bo rnams/
Arising throughout the three times, sentient beings and hostile forces of evil minds;
(small writing below:)
gang sems can gdug pa can de dag ni de ltar gyi mngon ba nyi tse ma yin gyi 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa kun kyang gzhil bar mdzad do//
Whatever evil sentient beings there are, destructive rites like this will act to expel even all those [who live for] unlimited periods of time, [throughout] the past and the future.

(line 2) ye shes rdo rje'i dkyIl 'khor 'dIr/ /khros nas thams cad gsad par bsgom/
in this primordial wisdom vajra maṇḍala, meditate that wrathfulness will kill them all."
(small writing below:)
dkyil 'khor 'di na dgug pa'am yang na 'dI ltar gnas pa'i thabs des de dag gzhil bar byed pa'o/
Either with the method of summoning [them] into this maṇḍala or [of them] similarly remaining, they will be expelled.

It is on the next folio that the use of a *phur bu* is expounded upon:

(41r.5) ///dgra'I 'khor kyI dam tshIg nI/ /bsam gtan rab du brtag pa 'dI/ /sangs rgyas dag gis 'da's na yang/ /'ga's par 'gyur ba gdon myI za/
The samaya of the wheel of hostile forces, [is that] even if buddhas were to transgress [against] this really scrutinizing contemplation, [they would] be shattered; there is no doubt.

/hūṃ las phur bur bsam ba nI/ /rtse lnga pa'I tshad du ste/ /rdo rje'e[20] phur bu de yIs nI/ /
The meditation on the *phur bu* [arising] from hūṃ: measuring as much as a five-spoked [vajra?], this [is the] rDo rje Phur bu;
(small writing below, continuing on to 41v:)
rdo rje rtse lnga pa'I tshad tsam gyi phur bu la hung gis khro bor bskyed nas/ khro bo [des?] [bcas?] kyI dpung gi snying kar btab par bsgom ba'o/ gzugs (41v.1) brnyan byas pa la btab na de dag skrag cing/ rmongs [pa gong?] nas de dag las rgyal par 'gyur ro//
A *phur bu* the size of a five-spoked vajra is generated as a wrathful one with *hung*. Then [one] meditates on this wrathful one stabbing the heart[s] of a host of (..?) If [one] stabs an image which has been made [to represent them], they become terrified. [Previously?] becoming confused, they will be vanquished [or: they will faint].

20 'a subscribed; probably, rdo rje'i is intended.

(41v.1) snyIng kar btab par rab bsgoms na/ /khros pas sangs rgyas dpung dag kyang/ /'jIg par 'gyur ba gdon myI za/// /
if [one] meditates on stabbing with [it] right into the heart, through [this] wrathful [activity], even armies of buddhas, [would] be destroyed; have no doubt!

Meditations on overcoming illnesses follow, but we return to the theme of the *phur bu* further down the page, now giving the association between Vajra Amṛta and the Phur bu deity, which we find in PT 349 (see Ch.8, p.145 above):

(41v.4) /rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyal po che/ /rdo rje phur bu rab tu bsgom/ /mye sta ga[21] 'bar ba 'dra ba yIs/ /phyogs (line 5) bcu'I dkyIl 'khor gdab par bya////
The great king, Vajra Amṛta, is meditated on as rDo rje Phur bu. [He] blazes like a spark of fire, and should strike the maṇḍalas of the ten directions.
(small writing below:)
lha klu 'am myI la stsogs pa sdig byed pa gnod par byed pa la/ a mri ta 'am badzra ling ga gcigi phyag rgyar gnas la pur bu la de'I snying po la btab nas khro bo nyid du byin kyis (line 5) brlabs nas lha klu de dag gi bdag po gzugs brnyan byas la btab na 'khor kun kyang zhI par 'gyur//
To those who perform evil and create harm, whether gods, nāgas or people, [with?] a *phur bu*, abiding in the mudrā of one Amṛta or Vajra liṅga,[22] stab their hearts, and consecrating [the *phur bu*] as the wrathful one himself, if [you] stab a constructed image [of] the master of these gods and nāgas, [their] entire circle will also be pacified.

On the following folio, further destructive meditations again focus on destroying "hostile forces" in similar vein to the Phur pa tradition, and involve animal emanations (possibly versions of the animal-headed attendants of the ten wrathful deities, given in Phur pa and other tantric sources, such as the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary IOL Tib J 321, Chapters 12-13):

(42v.3) //nam mkha'I rdo rje sprin po dang/ /khro bo drag cIng gtum po dang/ /wa dang bya rog sna tshogs dang/ /bya rgod khyI yis (line 4) gang bar bsgom/
Meditate on the sky, filled with vajra cloud[s], wrathful one[s], destructive and fierce, foxes, ravens etc., birds of prey and dogs.
(small writing below:)
drag po bya na khro bo'i phyag rgyar gna[s(/m)] la lus las kyang 'di dag byung 'khor yang 'di lta bus ga nas mye'i dkyil 'khor gsum gyI steng na gnas shing shin du 'bar bar bsgoms nas/
If destructive [rites] are performed, they arise also from the body, abiding in the mudrā of the wrathful one, and similarly [from] the retinue too, abiding above the three fiery maṇḍalas, and really blazing. Meditate on this.

(42v.4) /mye yI dkyIl 'khor la gnas te/ /'bar ba bzhIn du rtag par bsgom/ /sangs rgyas kun la gnod byed pa/ /bsams nas ~~nas~~ rnal 'byor sbyar bar bya/
Meditate on [them] abiding in the fiery maṇḍala, likewise constantly blazing. Having imagined those who harm all the buddhas, the yoga should be engaged in.

/mtshon cha sna tshogs thogs pa yIs/
Carrying various weapons,
(small writing below:)
khro bo dang grin [tsh(/p)]os ni mtshon gyis 'debs/
wrathful ones and [swords?],[23] striking with weapons

[21] stag intended?
[22] here, *liṅga* perhaps indicates the *phur bu* as a symbol; it does not seem to indicate the effigy.
[23] very uncertain: if *grin* is for *gri* with a following *tsheg*.

/rgyu ma rkang dang khrag las (line 5) stsogs/ /thams cad 'drangs par rnam par bsgom/
with which the intestines, marrow and blood etc. are dragged out.[24] Meditate on this.
(small writing below:)
[b(/p)]yol song de dag gis ni 'thog cing sha krag (line 5) 'byung par 'gyur//
the animal [emanations] tear up and make them into the elements of flesh and blood.

/de ltar bsgoms na dgra rnams 'chI/
Meditating thus, hostile forces are killed.

Selections from Chapter 14 (Manuscript folios 48r.3)

Chapter 14 contains the rDo rje sder mo mantra, connected as in our other sources with the ritual of striking with a *phur bu*, although in this case, the rite follows the mantra rather than culminating with the mantra. Then, the text gives the body, speech and mind mantras which are used in *phur pa* consecration rites. The ritual description contains these specific parallel mantras found in IOL Tib J 331.III and various other sources (see above Ch. 5, p.81-83), and although with different wording, there is an interesting description of the ritual of striking with a *phur pa*. It is noteworthy that on folio 54v (line 3), an annotation specifies the particular places of the body which should be struck. These do not quite correspond to those outlined in IOL Tib J 331.III (8r), but the principle of nailing down one or more *phur bu*s into different parts of an effigy following the main rite of stabbing the heart (an aspect of the rite which remains central to *phur pa* rites)[25] is clearly indicated by both examples.

(54r.3) //de nas bcom ldan 'da's de bzhIn gshegs (line 4) pa thams cad kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ thugs nges par 'chIng ba rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng nge 'dzIn la snyoms par zhugs nas/
Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Vajra Truly Binding the body, speech, and mind of all tathāgatas.
(small writing below:)
sku gsung thugs gcig su gyur pa dbyer myed pa la bya/
cause buddha body, speech and mind to become one, inseparable

rdo rje khams gsum pa thams cad kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ thugs gnon pa zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/
The mantra called, Suppressing the (buddha) body, speech and mind of all the three vajra realms,
(small writing below:)
khams gsum gyI sems can kun rdo rje sems pa'I rang bzhin pas rdo rje/
since all sentient beings of the three realms [have] the natural quality of Vajrasattva, "vajra"

nyId kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ (line 5) thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /
is emitted from (his) own body, speech and mind vajra.
(small writing below:)
rdo rje sder mo'o sngags
[this] mantra is Vajra Claw

//ōṃ gha gha gha ta ghā ta ya sa rba du shṭa na phaṭ/ kĪ la ya kĪ la ya sa rba pā pān phāṭ phāṭ/ /hūṃ hūṃ badzra 'kI la ya badzra dha ro/ ad nyā pā ya tI kā ya bāg tsId[26] ta ba dzra kI la ya hūṃ hūṃ phāṭ phāṭ/

---

[24] assuming that 'drangs is for drangs.

[25] In many ritual contexts one strikes the five places of the neck and the four limbs (at the tops of the arms, and the thighs). The *'Bum nag* (Boord: 231–4) gives great detail on various lists (eg. of ten, four or six places). The "Secondary Ritual" (*smad las*) of the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* also supplies considerable detail of how to perform *the vanquishing of the basis which supports latent tendencies* (*bag chags kyi rten gzhi bcom pa*, Volume Tha 471–476), outlining a number of sets of body parts to strike.

[26] da inserted below line, with attention drawn to it by a cross above the line.

oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ/ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ phaṭ/ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīla vajradhara/ ājñāpayati kāyavākcittavajra kīlaya hūṃ hūṃ phāṭ phāṭ/

/'dI ni gsungs ma thag du yang/[27] / (54v.1) rdo rje rdzu 'phrul chen po kun/ /brgyal zhIng rab tu 'jIgs par 'gyur/
Even as soon as this is spoken, all the great vajra miraculous manifestations, faint and become terrified.
(small writing below:)
'phags pa rdzu 'prul can kun
all endowed with the Noble ones['] miraculous manifestations,

/nam mkha' rdo rje sems dran 'gyur/ /
[They] come to recollect the Sky[-like] Vajra mind.
(small writing below:)
'phags pa kun dran
recollect all the Noble Ones

/myI'i rus pa'I phur bu'am/
a *phur bu* of human bone or,
(small writing below:)
sngags gong mas 'dI dag la btab nas
having done those previous mantras

/yang na seng ldeng rtse las skyes/
alternatively, created from an acacia wood blade/point[ed twig?],
(small writing below:)
rtse mo bzang po las bya
make [it] from a good blade/point

/lcags las byas pa'I phur bu dag/ /rdo rje sku gsum 'jIg par (line 2) byed/
[and] *phur bu*s made from iron destroy the triple vajra body.
(small writing below:)
'phags pa la yang nus na gzhan lta
if even effective on Noble one[s], so likewise for others.

/'od 'phro 'khrug cIng mdangs bzangs po'i/ /rdo rje sems dpar mnyam bzhag la/
Meditatively resting as Vajrasattva with an excellent glowing appearance, light radiating and pulsating;

/rdo rje gsum gyI sku'I mthar/ /gzer bar bsams nas sbyar bar bya/
Meditating on boring into the extremities of the triple vajra body, [you] should affix [it].
(small writing below:)
'phags pa man cad ces bya ba lta bu
likewise [those] called, lower [than] Noble one[s]

/rnam par snang mdzad rgya chen nam/
Vairocana's great mudrā[s] or
(small writing below:)
las byed pa'i lha ni 'di dag ste
these are the deities who perform the ritual

[27] final nga subscribed

/yang na 'dod chags rdo rje can/
alternatively, [the one] endowed with the desire vajra,
(small writing below:)
tshe dpag myed
Amitāyus

/gshIn (line 3) rje gshed kyI rgya chen dag/
[or] Yamāntaka's great mudrā[s].
(small writing below:)
dngos
actual/real

/bsams na rdo rje gsum yang gnon//
If [they] are meditated on, even the three vajras will be overcome.

rdo rje bdud rtsI 'khyIl pa yIs/
Vajra Amṛtakuṇḍalin
(small writing below:)
'dIs kyang bya na bzang
also, if performed with him, it is good

/gdug cIng khro ba tshar gcad pa/
is annihilating evil and wrath.
(small writing below:)
phur bu btab pa'i gnas ni snying ka ste [lte][28] ba gsang gnas rkang pa'i long bu'i nang logs g.yas g.yon gnyis ga
the places for striking the *phur bu*: the heart, the navel, the private parts, both the right and left inside ankle bones of the legs

/rdo rje sbyor bas bya ba nI/ /sangs rgyas bdag nyId chen po yang/ /snyIng kha nas nI rkang (line 4) pa'I mthar/ /rdo rje phur bu rnam par bsgom/
For the vajra application, meditate on the Buddha, the great Lord, even from the heart down to the foot, in the form of [the] rDo rje Phur bu.

/gong du 'ang dam tshIg de nyId bya/
Yet above, his very samaya [form] should be created.
(small writing below:)
gong du phur bu'I chog bshad pa dag kyang gdab pa'I gnas 'di dang sbyar
above, the explanations of the *phur bu* ritual are also applied to the places for striking

/phur bu rnam par 'phrul pa 'dI/ /bsam gtan rdo rje sbyor ba yIs/
This emanation in the Phur bu form, [is] joined with the contemplation vajra, so
(small writing below:)
'di ltar byed pa yang dngos grub thobs sems las su rung bas bya 'o/
performing it in this way, siddhi[s] are obtained, the mind should become entirely fit.

/sangs rgyas dag kyang nges par 'debs/
even if [the objects were] buddhas, [they would] certainly be struck!

[28] a syllable, probably lte, is inserted beneath, small, and partly obscured by the *na ro* below. It seems most likely to have been intended as a correction to ste written in the line.

/rdo rje sems dpa' rgyal po che/
If Vajrasattva, the great king,
(small writing below *rgyal po che*:)
la dor bar zad
completely casting out

/phur bus (line 5) btab na myur du 'chI/ // /[29]
should strike with the *phur bu*, death will be swift.

// /de nas bcom ldan 'da's rnam par snang mdzad chen po sku rnam par sprul pa'I rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng nge 'dzIn la snyoms par zhugs nas/
Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Great Vairocana['s] Body Emanation, and

sku'I dam tshIg tsham ngam gyIs gnon pa zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/
this mantra, called, Suppressing with the Frightful Body Samaya,

nyId kyI sku dang[30]/ (55r.1) /gsung dang/[31] thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /
was emitted from his body, speech and mind vajras.

//ōṃ tshin da tshIn da/ [da(/nga?)] ***[32] ha na ha na dIb btātsa kra hūṃ phaṭ/ /
Oṃ chinda chinda (da ha da ha?) hana hana dīptacakra hūṃ phaṭ

/phan tsun bkrI ba'I tshul du byas/ /mthe bo gnyIs nI rab du bsdam/ /rnam par snang mdzad tshul gnas te/
Intertwining [the hands] together, completely fixing together the two thumbs, abiding in the manner of Vairocana,
(small writing below:)
[tha?]l[33] mo bsdams te sor mo rnams kyi gyen bzhor mkhyud la mthe bo gshibs te bsdam de'i nang du phur bu bzung la btab/ 'dI'i phyag rgya bya
fixng together the palms of the hands, connecting [and] enfolding[34] the upright fingers, hold the *phur bu* positioned between the joined thumbs, and strike. (Below *rnam par snang mdzad*:) Do this/his mudrā.

/rdo rje'i phur (line 2) bu btab na nI/
in the rDo rje Phur bu striking,

/btab ma thag du sems dpa' che/
as soon as [the object] is struck, the great being,

/rdo rje sku gsum las byung ba/
arisen from the triple vajra body,

---

29 a red coloured dot follows this *shad*, marking the break
30 final nga is subscribed
31 this *shad* may be a later insertion; there is no gap following it, and it is executed in a thicker stroke of a slightly different colour ink than the rest of the writing (the writing is in a dark blue-black coloured ink but this *shad* appears to be a rather more definite shade of black).
32 lacuna with no letters, for the space of approximately three syllables. Assuming there is a spoonerism (or alternative ordering) here, we would expect "da ha da ha" to be in this place (see the mTshams brag NGB edition, Volume Tsha p.862.6, and Ch. 5, p.81 note 39, Ch. 6, p.106 and Ch. 7 p.143).
33 tha is incompletely formed, but seems most likely to be intended in this context
34 mkhyud = 'khyud?

/dam tshIg mchog gIs ldang bar 'gyur/
will rise up due to the supreme samaya,
(small writing below:)
phur bu tshur btabs zhig yod na 'dI btab pas thar
if there is an inward striking [with] the *phur bu*, by striking, [one] is liberated

/yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/ // /[35]
or otherwise, is transformed in death.
(small writing below:)
gzhan la btab na yang de bzhin 'grub/
also, if striking another, the same is accomplished

The above comment may not seem especially pertinent in the specific context of a single ritual through which the being is transferred to a higher state and liberated. However, it is worth noting that it appears to be alluding to the distinction between performing the rite to liberate oneself and to liberate others, which occurs elsewhere in the Dunhuang corpus (in IOL Tib J 436; see above, Ch.1, p.7), as well as becoming established in the later Phur pa commentarial tradition (Kong sprul: 94.6).

//[36]de nas bcom ldan 'da's 'jIg rten gyI dbang phyug gsung (line 3) rnam par sprul pa rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs nas/
Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Universal Lord['s] Speech Emanation Vajra, and
(small writing below *gyI dbang phyug*:)
tshe dpag myed
Amitāyus

gsung gI dam tshIg gnon pa'I zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/
this mantra, called, The Suppressing Speech Samaya,

nyId kyI sku dang/[37] gsung dang/ thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /
was emitted from his own body, speech and mind vajras.

//hrĪ ōṃ bhur ba ba/ / /

(line 4) ye shes pad mo kha bye ba/ /rdo rje'i sor mo nges par gzhag/
Firmly place the vajra finger[s in] the opened lotus [of] primordial wisdom.
(small writing below both *tshig rkang*:)
pyag[38] rgya pad mo kha bye bar bcings la tshe tshad myed du gnas nas pyag[39] rgya des phur bu bzung nas brdab/
fixing (the fingers) in the open lotus mudrā, resting in immeasurable life, with this mudrā, the *phur bu* is held and strikes

/'dod chags rdo rje tshul gnas te/ /rdo rje'i phur bu nges par gdab/
abiding in the manner of the desire vajra,[40] the rDo rje phur bu strikes with precision!

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35 a red coloured dot follows this shad, marking the break
36 this shad consists of a black and a red line
37 it is difficult to be certain, but it seems that this *shad*, together with the *shad* following (after gsung dang), may have been inserted later, as in the apparent insertion of a *shad* in line 1. As in that case, the *shad* is written in a blacker, thicker pen (see note on the instance in line 1).
38 pyag: presumably, phyag intended
39 pyag: presumably, phyag intended
40 note these next lines are repetitive of the above, "abiding in the manner of Vairocana," etc.

/btab ma thag du rdo rje che/ /sku gsum drI myed las byung ba/
As soon as [it] strikes, the great vajra, arisen from the stainless triple body,

/btab pa tsam gyIs ldang bar 'gyur/ / (line 5) /yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/ // /[41]
will rise up just through this striking, or otherwise, will be transformed in death.
(small writing below:)
gong ma dang 'dra
like before

// /de nas bcom ldan 'da's rdo rje 'dzIn chen po thugs rnam par sprul pa rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng nge 'dzIn la snyoms par zhugs nas/
Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Great Vajra-Holder['s] Mind Emanation Vajra, and

thugs kyI dam tshIg tsham ngam gyIs gnon pa'I sngags 'di/
this mantra, Suppressing with the Frightful Mind Samaya,

(55v.1) nyId kyI sku dang/[42] gsung dang/ thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /
was emitted from [his] own body, speech and mind vajras.

//ōṃ badzra ra dzā hūṃ/

/[rtse?] mo lnga par bcIngs nas nI/
Binding to the five [vajra?] spokes,
(small writing below:)
phyag rgya dngos/
the actual mudrā

/'od 'phro mang por 'khrugs par bsgom/
meditate on much radiating light pulsating.
(small writing below:)
rdo rje sems dpas 'od 'phro ba khro bor bsgoms la pyag rgya des phur bu bzung nas
meditating on Vajrasattva wrathfully radiating light, hold the *phur bu* with this mudrā

/rdo rje thugs kyI tshul gnas te/ /rdo rje phur bu btab na nI/
Abiding [in] the manner of vajra mind,[43] if [one] strikes with the rDo rje Phur bu,

/btab pa tsam (line 2) gyIs rdo rje che/ /rdo rje dri myed gsum byung ba/
simply striking, the great vajra, the three stainless vajras arise,[44]

/btab ma thag du sdang bar 'gyur/ /yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/
[and] will rise up at the moment of striking, or otherwise, will be transformed in death.

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41 a red coloured dot follows this *shad*, marking the break
42 again, this and the following *shad* appear to be inserted with a slightly different coloured ink in comparison with the rest of the writing.
43 note these next lines are repetitive of the above verses, "in the manner of Vairocana," "in the manner of the desire vajra," etc.
44 it is possible that we have an omission of the word, *las*, so that the line would read, *rdo rje dri myed gsum las byung* (in line with the previous verses above), which would translate as, *arisen from the three stainless vajras*.

/sku gsum thugs kyI [45] sbyor ba yIs/ /cho ga legs par byas na nI/
With the application of [buddha] body, speech and mind, if the ritual is done correctly,

/mkha' dbyIngs rdo rje'i mthas klas par/ / (line 3) gnon par 'gyur ba gdon myi za// /
in the boundlessness of the vajra, the spatial field of space, [the object] will be suppressed, have no doubt.

[45] there is a little mark before the sbyor, suggesting perhaps that the scribe may have begun writing "'byor" and then realised the error immediately.

10 SECTIONS OF IOL TIB J 321: *THE THABS KYI ZHAGS PA PAD MA 'PHRENG*

Introduction to the Text

The Dunhuang manuscript Commentary on the *'Phags pa Thabs kyi zhags pa*, is the only full-length commentary of a NGB scripture recovered from Dunhuang. Furthermore, it is enriched by interlinear notes and these notes associate the text's teachings with Padmasambhava himself. A version of this commentarial text is found in three editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*, but these versions are less complete and have suffered from more scribal corruption than the Dunhuang document.[1] It is therefore an extremely valuable text; we are currently working on a full textual study of it, but here, we are considering the relatively short chapters concerning *phur pa* rites.

The folios measure roughly 31cm across, by 8cm in height; they are mostly constant in size and the sides appear to have been cut fairly straight.[2] The thick sheets of good quality paper each have two tiny string holes, with a circle marked around them. The edges are only very slightly frayed, there are very few marks or blemishes and little discolouration of the paper. Ink writing remains clear, especially in the case of the main text. There is very little smudging or blotting of ink. There is no obvious indication of the ruling of lines, yet the writing is generally positioned straight on the page, and the six lines tend to be quite evenly spaced, suggesting that some form of guidelines might have been used. The small writing for the annotations is slightly lighter, and appears to have been written with a much finer pen, but the handwriting style is similar, quite possibly the same hand. It seems clear that this was not a single manuscript but part of a collection, in which this was in the first volume or text; the left-hand margins are all marked, "ka" and the pagination commences with gcig.

The Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng Commentary's treatment of the Four Ritual Activities

The sections in which we find discussion of rites involving *phur pa*s in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* are those devoted to the four ritual activities (*las bzhi*), which correspond to the usual set of four, but are given in reverse order in comparison with the standard sequence (ie they begin with destructive, followed by subjugating, increasing, and pacifying rites). However, this is the same order for the rites as given in the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 20 (*gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213–4).[3]

In each case, we have a number of chapters relating to various aspects of each category, and one of those chapters describes the appropriate type of *phur pa*, and the effect of striking with it. However, in the Dunhuang version, we are missing two of the chapters relating to the increasing rites, and this includes the chapter on the *phur pa* used for the increasing rites. There is little doubt that this represents a scribal omission which most probably occurred prior to this copying of the manuscript, since the subsequent chapters are numbered in accordance with its own sequence and not that of the complete original text.

The different types of *phur pa*s are entirely consistent with the associations for the four types of rites found in many early sources, including the ubiquitous Indian *homa* rituals found in so many Buddhist tantric texts, and the linkage of the *phur pa*s concerned with the specific colours and the shapes of the blades is

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[1] See Chapter 3 above, p.37.

[2] In some cases, the upper and lower edges bend a little towards the corner, but there is little evidence of jagged cutting. Some of the upper and lower edges of the later sheets are less straight, however – slightly curving in places.

[3] For the rites in the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 20, see *gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213–4. For the more usual sequence in the context of Phur pa ritual, see the *'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 521.4–522.1 (Boord 318).

found widely in the later Phur pa literature.[4] Thus, an iron or black thorny wooden *phur pa* with a three-sided blade is said to be appropriate for destructive rites; a copper or red wooden *phur pa* with a semi-circular blade is to be used for subjugating rites; and a silver or white wooden *phur pa* with a circular blade is for pacifying.[5]

Before the chapter on the destructive *phur pa*, the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's Chapter 18 describes destructive (ritual) activity in terms of the fierce activities of the vajra animal-headed (*'phra-men*) (emanations), seizing and offering the evil spirits as food. This fits well with the Phur pa tradition's integration of animal-headed deities into the main deity's retinue. In fact, the description given in Chapters 12 and 13 of this text's central wrathful heruka with his retinue of the ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) and their animal-headed emanations, corresponds very closely with some versions of the lists of these figures found in many Phur pa texts. Moreover, the imagery of the offering and consumption of the bodies of the evil spirits would seem to correspond to the culmination of the tradition's stages of the *sgrol ba* rite as specified in the sequence of "the six hidden mantras" (*gab pa'i sngags drug*) associated with the *smad las* ("subsidiary ritual") category of ritual (*'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition: 387.2, 388.4–5 and the following pages [= Boord: 223ff]; see also Cantwell 1989: "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities", 13–15). The sixth mantra involves offering the food of their corpse to the deities. In the regular *tshogs* ritual practice, the "final" or "third portion" offering which is stabbed and "liberated" using a *phur pa*, is consecrated as part of the ritual feast, consumed by the deities and practitioners. The account here is also infused with inner tantric interpretations: the view of emptiness is stressed, while wrong views are "consumed" by their true nature. The text cites the *kar ma ma le*, for which we have a possibility in the NGB: perhaps the famous *Karmamālā* which is one of the Eighteen Tantras of *Mahāyoga* (Rig 'dzin Volume Tsa).[6] Chapter 19 develops the theme of consumption further, in the destructive *homa* rite, in which the offerings of the burnt bodies of the elemental spirits are enjoyed by the deities, using a phrase which is commonly given for enjoying the feast in the *tshogs* ritual.

In Chapter 20, we find reference to the *Guhya* and *Kilaya bcu gnyis* Tantra(s).[7] Here, we seem to be on rather familiar ground, with the description of a destructive *phur pa* implement corresponding to a typical *phur pa* used in most traditional Phur pa ritual. Made of iron or black thorny wood, it has a three-sided blade and a heruka deity (head?) with Ral pa gcig ma, above the knot, and the male and female wrathful ones around the sides. In striking the effigy, all ten directions – or factors – are thus struck. Moreover, the primordial wisdom emptiness consecration, mentioned in Chapter 18,[8] is again referred to, with the implement for striking described as "a single *phur pa* of [the nature of] mind".[9] In fact, the overwhelming impression of the ethos of the description in this commentarial text is the concern to emphasise the inner meaning of the rites and their significance in *Mahāyoga* practice for realising Enlightenment. At the end of each of the chapters on the four rites, the ritual description is concluded with a verse glossing the soteriological meanings, and these explanations are attributed to named tantric texts, most of which correspond to titles in the NGB, although we have not yet identified the teachings concerned.

Chapter 26 deals with subjugating *phur pa* rites, speaking of copper or red wood, a semi-circular blade and a circle of wrathful ones around the head. The impact of striking with it is to bring the ten directions (or factors) under one's power. Similarly, the silver or white *phur pa* for pacifying is said in Chapter 34 to

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4 See, for instance, the *'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 521.4–522.1 (Boord 318).

5 Although increasing is not mentioned in our manuscript, there was once presumably at least one manuscript which had the full version of the text, which (from the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version, Volume Bu, and NGB witnesses of the root text), predictably specifies a golden or yellow wooden *phur pa* with a four-sided blade (M: Vol.20, p.148.7).

6 See http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/tsa/5.

7 This does not appear to be the principal *Phur pa bcu gnyis* scripture found in the NGB, but it may be one of the others with this title.

8 stong pa nyid kyI ye shes kyi byin rlabs (Ch. 18: 62v).

9 sems kyi phur pa gcig (64v).

pacify even a god. There is again a reference to meditative connotations, in this case called, the *samādhi phur pa*, which is described as, "the elemental nature's faultless essential pure awareness", so that everything is pacified through [its] natural quality.[10]

Thus, the *phur pa*s for the four rites in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's teaching are not simply concerned with the outer performance of burnt offerings rites and liberating troublesome beings through striking an effigy, but with the transformative power of the ritual symbolism in the path to Enlightenment. Each *phur pa* comes to embody an aspect of understanding so that it can infuse the object of the rite with the realisation it exemplifies. In some ways, this is a rather distinctive teaching, with an even more direct linkage between the symbolism of *phur pa* as a penetrating wisdom which brings realisation and *phur pa* as a ritual implement than we find in the classic traditional teachings on the four *phur pa*s (see Ch. 8, p.152 note 18). In the four *phur pa* teaching, there is some distinction between the first three *phur pa*s which are associated with the primary ritual (*stod las*) of attaining Enlightenment, and the fourth material *phur pa* for liberating obstacles through the subsidiary ritual (*smad las*). There too, the rites using the material *phur pa* depend on the prior accomplishment of the primary ritual, so that the "liberating" may be effective, but in this *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's explanation, the four material *phur pa*s actually *in themselves* express the liberating wisdom, one of which corresponds exactly to the first *phur pa* of the tradition – pure awareness's primordial wisdom (*rig pa'i ye shes*).

A similar teaching is found in the *'Bum nag*. In that case, there is no accompanying instructions on the actual rites to be performed, but the section is introduced with the comment that the rituals of stabbing are unlike the heartless use of weapons upon the bodies of sentient beings, but rather that, "the *phur pa* is consecrated as the deity and primordial wisdom, so by striking the [object], the body and defilements are exhausted, there is no birth in the lower realms, and it brings about the attainment of Enlightenment."[11] Thus, after some lines on the four *phur pa*s and a textual citation (from the *Myang 'das*) on the use of the *phur pa* teaching for attaining Enlightenment, the specific list of the *phur pa*s for the four rites are elaborated on:

> Pacifying the defilements through this realisation is the *phur pa* of pacifying;
> creating an increase in buddha qualities [is] the *phur pa* of increasing;
> bringing one's own mind under control [is] the *phur pa* of subjugation;
> liberating it from samsāra is moreover the actual reality of the *phur pa* of destruction.[12]

Perhaps the main additional gloss which the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's approach would seem to suggest here is to stress that the liberating activities are effected through the *phur pa*'s own natural enlightened qualities.

Selection from Chapter 18
(61v.4) :[13] //da ni drag po 'i las bshad par bya ste /
/rdo rje 'phra men sbyor ba yis/ /
(61v.5) yud tsam gyis nI de bkug nas/
/bltod[14] pa'i tshul du rab bstabs na/

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[10] chos nyid ma nor par rig pa nyid ting nge 'dzIn gyi phur pa yin te/ thams cad rang bzhin gyis zhi bar 'gyur (75v–76r)

[11] phur pa ni lha dang ye shes su byin gyis rlobs pa yin pas/ de btab pas las dang nyon mongs pa zad nas ngan song du mi skye la/ byang chub thob par byed pa yin no/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Tha: 535.2–3; Boord 2002: 326).

[12] /de ltar rtogs pas nyon mongs zhi bas zhi ba'i phur pa'o/ /buddha'i yon tan rgyas par byed pas rgyas pa'i phur pa/ rang sems dbang du 'dus pas dbang gi phur pa/ de 'khor ba las sgrol bar byed pas drag po'i phur pa yang de nyid do/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Tha: 536.3–5; Boord 2002: 327).

[13] here there is a kind of ornamental punctuation mark, consisting of two small vertically arranged circles, marking the break between chapters.

/lha yang rung ste brlag par ~~bya~~ / 'gyur / zhes gsungs te / /

Now, to explain destructive [ritual] activity, [the root text] says,
"through the application of the vajra animal-headed (*'phra-men*) [emanations],
[the evil spirits] are instantaneously summoned;
when [they] have been offered as food in a terrifying manner,[15]
even a god would be destroyed!"

(61v.6) 'phra men ma stag mgo can la stsogs pa mgyogs pa rnams mngag ste/
/gang la bya ba yud tsam gyis snying la bzung nas/ khro bo
(62r.1) $/ //dang khro mo 'i zhal du bstabs te/

Dispatching the swift animal-headed [emanations], the tiger-headed etc.,[16]
instantaneously [they] seize whoever is the [rite's] object by [their] heart[s], and offer them to the male and female wrathful ones to eat.
(small writing below:)
[chu?] klong gsol bar bsgoms [na?] bskabs par 'gyur ro [rlung?][17] la stsogs pa [yang (/ang/spang)] chad par bsgyur ro zhes/
this is said [to be] on the occasion when meditating on [petitioning/consuming/offering] an expanse [of water?]; [wind?] etc. is also explained [in this way.]

ltod pa'i tshul du gsol bar bsgoms na/ /lam rgyud lnga 'i sems can gang yang
(62r.2) rung ste mod la 'chi bar 'gyur ro/

When meditating on [petitioning/consuming], in [a confrontational/ terrifying?][18] manner,
whatsoever sentient beings of the five types [may be involved, they] will die.

/gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings dang/
stong pa nyid kyi ye shes lnga 'i byin rlabs/
rnam par grol ba'i (62r.3) skye mched bcu gcig gyis/
lam rgyud lnga 'i sems can dngos por lta ba ni/
/stong pa nyid kyi dam tshig las 'gal (62r.4) bas/
/de dag rang bzhin gis za bar 'gyur zhes tan tra kar ma ma le las bshad do/ /

In other [words], with the eleven totally liberated sense bases, consecrated [by] the dharmadhātu and five primordial wisdom emptinesses, since viewing sentient beings of the five types as substantial transgresses the samaya of emptiness, [such viewing] comes to be consumed by [its] true nature. This is how it is explained in the *Karma Male* Tantra.

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14 *bltod*: Variants are found for this syllable in the other versions. The *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* root text gives *rtod*, *rNying rgyud* section Volume Kha (= Volume 98), f.307v (p.614), as does the *sDe dge rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (Volume Pa, f294v). The Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version of the commentary gives: *stod* (Volume Bu, 292), while the sGang steng and gTing skyes *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* root text versions (G: Volume Wa, f61v; T Volume Dza, 415) give *bstod*.

15 *bltod*: Dan Martin 2005: 268, *bltod nas* = *skrag nas*, citing Katsumi Mimaki works on dBus pa blo gsal. However, the text below gives ltod, for which bTsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims (1997: 262) gives *rtsod pa*, which might suggest a confrontational manner. The *sDe dge* versions (see above note) would suggest: using the method of staking/tethering (them), and the Golden *bsTan 'gyur*, sGang steng and gTing skyes *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* versions would mean: while praising.

16 The list of twenty, with the tiger-headed as the right-hand emanation in the east, are given in many Phur pa texts. See, for instance, the *Phur pa rTsa ba'i dum bu* (Boord 2002: 81) or the *'Bum nag*, in which a metaphorical association is made between vivid variegated colouring (*bkra ba*) of the Dharma eye of the eastern Wrathful One, Vijaya, and that of the tiger's stripes (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Tha: 340.5–6; Boord 2002: 188). A virtually identical list, broken up into two parts, is given earlier in the text here: Ch. 12, f.53v, and Ch. 13, f.54v.

17 *rlung*: this is rather uncertain, but on comparison with other letters, seems the most likely word here. Other possibilities are: *hung*/*ru*/*rung*/*drung*.

18 see note 15 above. Here, again, the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version (Volume Bu: 293) would mean: praising (*bstod*).

'ug pa'i mgo can (62r.5) la stsogs pa /
/'phra men ma rnams sbad byas te/
/myig dang rna ba sna dang lce/
/de sems 'phrog bsgoms nyams par 'gyur/ (62r.6) zhes gsungs te/

[The root text] says, "The owl-headed etc.,[19]
the animal-headed [emanations] create concealment, [20]
meditate [that] the eye and ear, nose and tongue,
[and?] the mind are appropriated, and degenerate."

khyung dang khwa la stsogs pa khra thabs su btang ste/
/gang la bya ba la bya ba'i dbang po 'byin par bsgoms na//
(62v.1) dbang po nyams nas myig long ba dang/ rna ba 'on pa dang/
sna zhom ba dang/ lce lkugs pa dang/
sems myos te glen par 'gyur ro/ /

The garuḍa and the raven etc., [are] sent as the Multiform-Means;[21]
meditate that whoever is the object, [their] active sense faculties are removed.
(62v) The senses having degenerated, the eyes go blind, the ears become deaf, the nose is destroyed, the tongue becomes mute and the mind becomes mad and stupid.

(62v.2) gzhan du na / stong pa nyid kyi ye shes drug gyI byin brlabs kyis/
/ril por lta ba'i dngos po rnams/
yang dag pa nyid las 'gal ba'i (62v.3) phyir/
/rang bzhin nyams par byed ces tan tra kar ma ma les 'byung ngo/

In other [words], [in the context of] the six primordial wisdom emptiness consecration[s], since material things seen as solid wholes contradict their essential genuine nature, [their] qualities are made to degenerate. This comes from what is said in the *Karma Male* Tantra.

Chapter 19 (63r.4–64r.5)
//da ni drag po 'i hom gyi las bshad de/
/hom khung zur gsum (63r.5) gdengs pa la/
/rdo rje mda' gzhu ldan byas te/
/thod pa dag gis rnam par brgyan/
/spyan drangs bsregs na lha yang 'chi/ zhes (63r.6) gsungs te/

Now, to explain the destructive homa ritual:
[The root text] says, "The raised up triangular homa pit,
should be endowed with vajra bow and arrow, and
ornamented with skulls.
If invited and burnt, even a god would die!"

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[19] the owl-headed is the second emanation associated with the southern Wrathful One, Yāma (Boord 2002: 82, 188).

[20] It is possible that *sbad byas* here might have the sense of sending forth; bTsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims (1997: 608) gives for *sbad pa*, *gtong ba'am skul ba'i don*. However, given the context here, at least in the Commentary, in which the notion of material things being consumed in emptiness is under discussion, together with the gloss on the *'phra men ma* called, *sBed ma*/ *sBad ma*, in the main text of Chapter 13 ("not moving anywhere other than sameness, [she] is known as, *the animal-headed Concealed/Veiled female*", "mnyam pa nyid las gzhan du myi g.yo bas / 'phra men ma sbed ma zhes bya ste" 56v.2-3), it would seem that Concealed/ Concealing/ Veiling would fit better.

[21] *Khra thabs*; *thabs* = Skt. upāya, male emanations representing the enlightened skilful means. In the Phur pa tradition, this name may be used for the "Supreme Son" material *phur bu*s around the maṇḍala.

/thab khung zur gsum du byas la/
/grwa mda' gzhu rnams bkang nas/
khro bos 'phen bar bsgom/

Make the triangular pit [for] the hearth,
fill the angles/sides [with] bows and arrows and
meditate on wrathful ones shooting out.

tha mar phur pa (63v.1) nag po gsum btab la/
/lcags thag gam/
thag pa nag pos bskor te/
/khro bo dang khro mo dang 'phra men gong nas 'byung ba rnams spyan (63v.2) drangs la/
/tsher ma'I shing las mye sbar nas/

Finally, plant three black *phur pa*s,
encircled with iron wire or black rope.[22]
Invite the previously arisen male and female wrathful ones and the animal-headed [emanations], and ignite the fire [made] from thorny wood.

/tsha ba'I mar dang lan tsa dang/
/dug dang myi khrag ra 'i khrag/
/ske tse ldong ros lcags phye (63v.3) la/
/khro bo khro mo 'phra men gyi/
/gsang sngags rnams ni bzlas nas su/
/gang la bya ba'i gzugs dag ni/ /
(63v.4) ming rus bsregs na 'grub par 'gyur/

Upon the hot butter/oil, salt,
poison, human and goat blood,
black mustard, realgar powder and iron filings,
recite the secret mantras of the male and female wrathful ones and the animal-headed [emanations],
and the bodies of whoever is the object,
[their] names and family line will be burnt up.

/'phra men mngags te bkug nas ni/
/thab du bsregs na mod la 'chi/
(63v.5) gsur dang bsres pa'i sha rnams kyis/
/lha rnams thams cad mchod par bya/

"Dispatching the animal-headed [emanations], having summoned [the objects],
[they] will immediately burn up in the hearth and die.
The flesh mixed with the burnt offerings
should be offered to all the deities.

/rdo rje glu ni blangs nas su/
/'byung po 'i sha ni shin du zhim/
(63v.6) 'byung po 'I khrag ni shin du zhim/
/'byung po 'i rus pa zhim ba ste/
/gsol te thams cad dgyes par mdzod/
/a la la la ho/

[22] The implication seems to be that the rope outlines the border around the hearth, attaching around the three *phur pa*s. In the subjugating ritual below, the rope is termed, *mtha' thag pa* (69r.6).

(64r.1) /ha ha ha hūṃ zhes brjod par bya 'o/

"Singing vajra songs,
the flesh of the elemental spirits is really delicious!
The blood of the elemental spirits is really delicious!
The bone of the elemental spirits is delicious!
Consuming, [the deities] are all delighted.
A la la la ho! Ha ha ha hūṃ!" This is [what the root text] says should be recited.

/gzhan du na/
sku gsung thugs kyi ye shes kyi myes/
sku gsung thugs dang myi 'thun ba'i (64r.2) phyogs bsregs pa dang/
ye shes kyI byin rlabs kyis mda' 'phangs pa ltar 'phro bas phog ste/
sku gsung thugs dang 'thun par gyur (64r.3) pa ni/
khro bo dang khro mo 'i rang bzhin gyis mnyes pa yin zhing/
de ltar go ba ni dbyangs blang shes/[23]
rI bo brtsegs (64r.4) pa'I tan tra las 'byung ng o/

In other [words], the primordial wisdom fire of [buddha] body, speech and mind,
burns up the factors not conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind and
the primordial wisdom consecration emanates and strikes like shooting arrows.
In becoming conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind,
the natural qualities of the male and female wrathful ones are relished,
and understanding in this way, songs are sung.
This is taken from the *Heaped up Mountain Tantra* (*Ri bo brtsegs pa'i tan tra*).[24]

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las
/drag po 'i hom gyi le'u ste bcu (64r.5) dgu 'o// :[25]

This is Chapter 19 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the destructive homa.

Chapter 20
(64r.5) //da nI drag po 'i las bshad de/
/lcags sam nag po 'i shing rnams la/
/mgo bo rgya mdud (64r.6) rtse zur gsum/
/khro bo khro mo 'khor bsgoms te/
/btab na lha yang brlag par 'gyur/ zhes gsungs te/

Now, to explain the destructive ritual:
[The root text] says,
"[The *phur pa* is made] out of iron or black wood,
[with] a head, a knot [and] a three-sided blade,[26]
meditating on male and female wrathful ones encircling [it];
if [one] strikes [with such a *phur pa*], even a god would be destroyed!"

23 The Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version (Volume Bu: 296) gives *blangs shing*

24 The *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* is classified as one of the 18 *Mahāyoga* Tantras. The modern version's full title is: *Sangs rgyas kun gyi gdongs pa'i bcud bsdus ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag edition Volume Dza, 181.2 – 213.3. Rig 'dzin Volume Cha.) In the gTing skyes edition it is classified as within the *rDzogs chen man ngag spyi ti skor*.

25 this ornamental punctuation mark is not a *gter shad*, but a little similar in consisting of two vertically arranged circles.

26 blade: literally, point.

lcags dang shing kha dog (64v.1) nag po tsher ma can la/
phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud/
rtse zur gsum du bzhogs te/
rgya mdud kyi steng du he ru ka dang/
ral pa gcig ma/
ngos (64v.2) su go rims bzhin du/
khro bo dang khro mo rnams bsgoms te/
gang la bya ba'i gzugs dang/
mying rus la btab na/
lha yang gzer thabs dang
(64v.3) rIms kyI btab ste 'chi bar 'gyur ro/

Using iron or black-coloured thorny wood,
a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot [and]
a three-sided point, is to be chiselled out.
[While] meditating [on] Heruka and Ral pa gcig ma above the knot;
at the sides, in the appropriate order,
the male and female wrathful ones;
[then] whosoever the object, if [one] strikes the effigy,
with [their] name[s] and family line,
even a god, [with this] method (for) transfixing and
successive striking, will come to die.

(small writing, below line 2; it most probably applies to the above, or just possibly, to * below:)
[chu?] klung la btab na skams so ril[27] btab na ra rnyil lo
If you strike at a stream,[28] it will dry up; if you strike at a mountain, its peak (reading *rwa* for *ra*)[29] will topple.

ri rab dang gleng ~~g~~bzhI 'I ngos la stsogs pa la bris te btab na/
/phur pa (64v.4) gcig gis phyogs bcur btab par 'gyur ro/ /

Mount Meru and the four continents[30] are [to be] *drawn at the sides etc., [and then] if [one] strikes,
with a single *phur pa*, the ten directions/factors[31] will be struck!

gzhan du na gnyis su myed pa'I ye shes stong pa nyid kyi byin (64v.5) rlabs khro bo dang khro mo yin la/
des ma khyab pa myed de/
sems kyi phur pa gcig btab pas/
phyogs bcur btab par 'gyur zhes

In other [words], the non-dual primordial wisdom emptiness consecration [is] the male and female wrathful ones and
[so the object] cannot fail to be permeated by this.
By striking with [this] single *phur pa* of [the nature of] mind,
it is said that the ten directions/factors[32] will be struck.

27 ril: ri la intended?
28 or: *an expanse of water*, if *klung* is for *klong*, as (apparently) elsewhere in this text (eg. 10r.3, 11r.3, 84r.6).
29 alternatively, if *ri rnyil* is intended, this would mean, "there will be a landslide".
30 If *gleng ~~g~~bzhI* is for *gling bzhi*.
31 Generally, *phyogs bcu* means the ten directions. However, we have an instance above (Chapter 19, 64r.1–2), where the text explains that one is burning the *phyogs*, seemingly indicating *factor*[s] not conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind. It may well be that a double meaning is intended here.
32 See note above.

(64v.6) 'gu hya dang ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi tan tra las 'byung ngo/
This is taken from the *Secret* (*Guhya*) and *Twelve-fold Kīlaya* (*Kilaya bcu-gnyis*) Tantra[s].

thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las/
/drag po 'i phur pa'i le'u ste (65r.1) $//nyi shu 'o//
This is Chapter 20 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the destructive *phur pa*.

Chapter 21 is a short chapter on the mix for destructive rite *gtor ma*s, while Chapter 22 comments on the destructive ritual version of the rites of union (*sbyor ba*). This is the same as the ritual visualisation which is used in the Phur pa tradition, generally, in the context of the "Union" (and) "Liberation" offerings.[33] The opening, which gives the verse from the root text, sums up the practice:

(65v.1) //da nI drag por sbyor ba'I las bshad de/
/khro mo 'i dkyil 'khor gtum cen[34] du/
/khro bo 'i (65v.2) tho bas brdungs pa yi/
/rdo rje gtun 'phrugs bsgoms byas na/
/lha yang rung ste brdungs par 'gyur/
zhes gsungs ste/

Now, to explain the destructive ritual of union:
[the root text] says,
"In the great ferocious[35] maṇḍala of the female wrathful one,
the male wrathful one's hammer is beating.
Having meditated on the vajra pestle vibrating,[36]
even a god would be beaten."

The explanation given in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary (65v.3–5) also fits with the tradition: the female "mortar" embodies the pervasive dharmadhātu, while the "hammer which beats all the worlds" is "the pure awareness sphere".[37]

Chapter 23 then develops another aspect of this "Union" (and) "Liberation" meditation which also has some resonance for the Phur pa tradition of liberating the object of the rite. For instance, in the Dudjom *gNam lcags spu gri* tradition, the consciousness is drawn into the *phur bu*, merged with the syllable hūṃ, and raised to the Akaniṣṭha Buddha field with the syllable phaṭ, where it is brought to Vajrasattva uniting with his consort, and brought birth – and liberation – as Vajrasattva's son (*bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Volume Da 134). In the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* ritual, there is no *phur bu*, but what seems to be a similar ritual for closing the doors of rebirth to worldly realms, drawing in consciousness through hūṃ, and projecting it into the wombs of the uniting deities in Akaniṣṭha with phaṭ. The teaching is said to derive from the *Tan tra sNying rje rol pa*.[38] The discussion of closing the doors of the worldly realms equates each of the three poisons with one of the three lower realms, and the door to rebirth is closed by recognising the lack of

33 See, for instance, the *'Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 214–6) or the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Vol. Tha: 118–9.

34 gtum cen: the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version of the commentary (Volume Bu: 297) gives *gtun chen*. *gTun* is most likely the correct reading here. All versions of the root text which we have consulted give *gtun khung*, which is clearer (explicitly specifying the mortar rather than pestle).

35 See above note: other versions of the text would suggest the translation, *mortar*, here.

36 'phrugs = 'khrugs? 'Phrugs could mean scratch/scrape, but vibrate seems more appropriate.

37 khro mo lta bu chos kyi dbyings nyId ni/ /'jIg rten thams cad la khyab pa'i gtun no/ /khro bo lta bu 'i dbyings rig pa ni/ /'jig rten thams cad brdungs pa'i tho ba zhes/

38 In the catalogue of the Rig 'dzin NGB (Cantwell, Mayer and Fischer 2002), the *dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud/ 'Jig rten las 'das pa gsang ba'i mdo* is Tsha 3, in the category of *Mahāyoga Tantra sDe bco brgyad*. It is in the mTshams brag Vol. Dza. On a preliminary browsing, we have not yet identified a specific passage in the current editions of this text; however, there does seem some similarities in the materials in the first few chapter, which deserve further attention.

any real nature in the poison. Thus, birth in hell is associated with viewing hatred as though it has substantial reality, while recognition that hatred has no real nature prevents the mind of hatred being born.[39] All this, while not specifically relating to Phur pa rites as such, nonetheless informs much of the ethos of the Phur pa tradition, with the opening line of its root verse, "vajra wrath cuts through hatred" (*rdo rje khros pa zhe sdang gcod*). There is also an interesting example of *sgrol ba* given: reference is made to Rāma of the Indian Epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, making aspiration for all those slain to be reborn as gods (67r.5).

Chapter 24 (67v.1–69r.3) begins the rites of subjugation, with invitation and offerings to the deities, and the summoning of the body, speech, and animating qualities of those to be subdued, who are made obedient. Then Chapter 25 (69r.3–70r.2) continues with the subjugating *homa* ritual. In this case, the semi-circular hearth is decorated with a vajra noose, and five red *phur pa*s are planted, with a red rope boundary made around them (69r.5–6).[40]

The subjugating *phur pa* rite is then outlined in Chapter 26. It follows the same structure as the destructive *phur pa* rite, with variations in accordance with the symbolism for subjugating. One interesting feature, given in the closing remarks elaborating on the soteriological implications of the rite, is the mention of the *phur pa* being, "pure awareness's primordial wisdom" (*rig pa'i ye shes*). The *purely aware primordial wisdom phur bu* (*rig pa ye shes kyi phur bu*) is the first in the Phur pa tradition's classification of the four *phur bu* or *phur pa*s, a categorisation which sometimes has little presence in the NGB's root texts but which became central to the commentarial and practice traditions (see Chapter 8 above, p.150 note 18).

Chapter 26

(70r.2) //da ni dbang gi phur pa'i (70r.3) las bshad de/
/zangs sam kha dog dmar po yi/
/shing la rgya mdud rtse zla gam/
/mgo la khro bo 'khor (70r.4) bsgoms te /
btab na nges par de dbang 'gyur/ /zhes gsungs te/

Now, to explain the subjugating *phur pa*'s activity:
[The root text] says,
"Either [make the *phur pa*] out of copper or red-coloured wood, [with] a knot [and] a semi-circular blade;[41]
at the head, meditating on wrathful ones encircling [it];
if [one] strikes [with such a *phur pa*, troublesome spirits/beings] are really brought under [one's] power."

zangs sam kha dog dmar po 'i shing (70r.5) la
/phur pa mgo rgya mdud la/
rtse zla gam du bzhogs la
/rgya mdud kyi steng dang ngos khro bo dang khro mo rnams bsgoms te/ /
(70r.6) gang du dbang du bya ba de 'i gzugs sam mying rus la btab ste/
bka' bzhin byed par bsgoms na /
nges par dbang du 'gyur ro/

Using copper or red-coloured wood,
a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot and
a semi-circular blade, is to be chiselled out.
Above the knot and on the sides, [one] meditates on the male and female wrathful ones and

39 sems can dmyal bar ltung ba'i rgyu ni zhe sdang la/ /dngos po yod par lta ba yin te/ /zhe sdang la rang bzhin myed par shes shing/ /zhe sdang gi sems myi skye bas na/ dmyal ba'i sgo bcad pa yin no/ (66v.3–4)

40 hom khung zla gam la/ rdo rje zhags pas brgyan te/ kha dog dmar po 'i phur pa lnga btab la/ mtha' thag pa dmar pos bskor te/

41 blade: literally, point.

[then], whosoever the object to be subjugated, if [one] strikes the effigy or [their] name[s] and family line, meditating in accordance with scripture,
[they] will certainly be brought under [one's] power.

(70v.1) ri rab dang gling bzhi la stsogs pa la bris te btab na/
phur pa gcig btab pas/
phyogs bcur btab par 'gyur te/
thams cad (70v.2) dbang du 'gyur ro zhes bya ba'i don to/

Mount Meru and the four continents etc. are [to be] drawn, [and then] if [one] strikes,
striking with a single *phur pa*, the ten directions/factors[42] will be struck, and
all will be brought under [one's] power. This is the meaning of what is said [in the root text].

/gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings kyis phyogs bcu thams cad du khyab la/
de ltar rig pa'i ye shes ni (70v.3) phur pa yin te/
thams cad du btab par 'gyur zhing /
/bdag dang tha myi dad pas las thams cad rang bzhin gis (70v.4) dbang du 'gyur ba yin no zhes/

In other [words], the dharmadhātu pervades all the ten directions/faculties and
likewise, pure awareness's primordial wisdom is the *phur pa*, so [it] will strike universally.
Since [it] is not separate from oneself, [it] brings all activities under control through [its own] natural qualities.

/phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma las 'byung ngo/
/dbang gi phur pa bshad zin (70v.5) to/

This is taken from the *Twelve-fold Phur pa* Tantra's subsequent [tantra] section.[43]
This completes the explanation [of] the subjugating *phur pa*.

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las/
dbang gi phur pa bstan pa'i le'u ste nyi shu drug go//

This is Chapter 26 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the teaching (about) the subjugating *phur pa*.

The next short Chapter 27 (70v.5–71.6) is on the mix for subjugating *gtor ma*(s), and the method of casting them so that simply the sight of the *gtor ma* brings the objects of the rite under control. Chapter 28 discusses the practice of union (*sbyor ba*) in the context of subjugating rites, while Chapter 29 begins the section on increasing rites, drawing on the usual imagery for increasing, such as items coloured yellow and a square maṇḍala with eight spokes. With Chapter 30 we then have the increasing *homa* ritual, and here again, *phur pa*s are used to mark out the area around the hearth. In this case, four yellow *phur pa*s are planted, presumably at each of the corners of the square hearth, and yellow rope encircles them (73r.5).[44]

After Chapter 30, two complete chapters found in the *bsTan 'gyur* version are omitted, and the Dunhuang version's Chapter 31 corresponds to the *bsTan 'gyur*'s and NGB editions' Chapter 33. There is little doubt that these chapters did once exist in the common ancestor of all the editions; the structure of the text requires them here, and it is virtually inconceivable that this section of the text would have been written without them. The only possible scenario consistent with the idea that later versions might have composed new

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42 See p.188 note 31 above.
43 We have not yet located this passage or teaching in any of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, or *Kīlaya bcu gnyis* scriptures found in the current NGB editions.
44 hom khung gru bzhI la/ rdo rje 'i 'khor los brgyan par bri ste/ phur pa kha dog ser po bzhi btab la/ mtha' thag pa ser bos bskor te/

material lacking in the original to insert here would be if the earliest version of the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary was compiled by inserting older materials on the four ritual activities from some other tantric source which had already lost text, and then the missing text was later reconstructed. This seems especially unlikely in the case of a commentarial text; because the text embeds the root text within it, and the verses of the root text's Chapters 31 and 32 have been lost here also. So unless a previous version of the root text omitted these chapters too, it would seem a safe conclusion that the Dunhuang manuscript copy has an omission of text which was present in an earlier exemplar of the text. Fortunately, since the text is extant in the *bsTan 'gyur* version and there is a good deal of repetition from the chapters on the *phur pa* rites and *gtor ma*s in the other ritual activity sections, it is not difficult to reconstruct this text in a manner which is quite likely to be close to the original. Chapter 31 on the *phur pa* rite for increasing (Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version Vol. Bu, 307–8) specifies the use of a golden or yellow wood *phur pa*, and a four-sided blade. Through striking the object, abundance and charismatic brilliance (*dpal dang gzi brjid*) are increased.[45] The soteriological gloss suggests that through the rite, the sambhogakāya arises within the dharmadhātu. Since the *phur pa* is the samādhi (which is) the arising as the sambhogakāya, it increases abundance and charismatic brilliance through its own natural qualities.[46]

The second omitted chapter is on *gtor ma* rites for increasing. The Dunhuang version's Chapter 31 (73v.5–74r.5) corresponds to Chapter 33 in the other versions, and the enumeration of the remaining chapters continue to run two behind the other texts. In keeping with the earlier rites, this chapter concerns rites of union connected with increasing.

Chapter 32 (= Chapter 34 in the other versions; 74r.5–75r.3) begins the pacifying rites, which employ the predictable imagery of a circular maṇḍala with eight spokes, and white offerings. Chapter 33 (= Chapter 35 in the other versions; 75r.3–75v.3) continues with the pacifying *homa* rite, referring to eight white *phur pa*s, presumably to be planted at the eight spokes of the circular hearth.[47]

Chapter 34 (= Chapter 36 in the other versions; 75v.3–76r.3) on the *phur pa* for pacifying completes the sequence of teachings on the *phur pa*s for the four activities.

(75v.3) // da ni zhi ba'i phur pa'i las bshad de/
(75v.4) phur pa kha dog dkar po la /
/mgo bo rgya mdud rtse zlum por /
/lha rnams bsgoms te gdab par bya /
(75v.5) 'dI ni zhi ba'i las la shis / / zhes gsungs te /

Now, to explain the pacifying *phur pa*'s activity:
[The root text] says,
"[Using] a white-coloured *phur pa*,
[with] a head, a knot [and] a round blade,
[one] should strike while meditating on the deities.
This is auspicious for pacifying activities."

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45 A reconstruction based on the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* (Volume Bu: 307-8), supplemented (by words in italics) with reference to the chapters in the Dunhuang version on the other ritual activities: /gser ram ser po'i shing rnams la/ /phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud/ *rtse* zur bzhi *du* bzhogs te/ rgya mdud la lha rnams bkod de/ /gdab na gang la bya ba de 'i la btab na 'grub cing/ dpal dang gzi brjid rgyas par 'gyur ro/

46 A reconstruction based on the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* (Volume Bu: 308): /gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings la longs spyod rdzogs pa 'byung/ /longs spyod rdzogs par 'byung ba nyid/ /ting nge 'dzin phur pa yin pas/ /rang bzhin gyi dpal dang gzi brjid rgyas pa yin no/

47 hom khung zlum po gdengs pa la/ /rdo rje pad mas brgyan par bya/ /phur pa dkar po drug btab ste/ / spyan drangs dngul phye la stsogs mchod (75r.4–5)

dngul lam shing kha dog dkar po la /
phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud rtse zlum por (75v.6) bzhogs la /
rgya mdud la lha rnams bkod de /
zhi bar bsgoms nas btab na /
lha yang zhi bar 'gyur ro/

Using silver or white-coloured wood,
a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot and a round blade, is to be chiselled out.
Establishing the deities around the knot,
if [one] strikes while meditating on pacifying,
even a god will be pacified!

gzhan du na chos (76r.1) nyid ma nor par rig pa nyid ting nge 'dzIn gyi phur pa yin te/
thams cad rang bzhin gyis zhi bar 'gyur zhes /
rtse gcig (76r.2) bsdus pa las 'byung ngo /

In other [words], the elemental nature's faultless essential pure awareness is the samādhi *phur pa*, so
[it] pacifies everything through [its] natural quality.
This is [what it] says in the *rTse gcig bsdus pa*.[48]

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las /
/zhi ba'i phur pa'i le'u ste /
/sum cu (76r.3) bzhI pa 'o //

This is Chapter 34 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the pacifying *phur pa*.

Following this chapter, the ritual activities section of the text completes the remaining sections for pacifying rites, again on *gtor ma*s and on rites of union, and it then gives a teaching on summing up all the rites (Chapter 37, equivalent to Chapter 39 in the other versions). The final chapter of the text (Chapter 39, equivalent to Chapters 41 and/or 42 in the other versions, which vary in their arrangements) contains some description of wrathful deities (82v–83r) rather reminiscent of the description of the deified *phur pa* in the consecrations section of IOL Tib J 331.III, but this involves similar vocabulary rather than parallel text, and it is not related to Phur pa imagery, despite the passage opening (82v.4–5) with a eulogy which mentions, "hundreds and thousands of Vajrakumāra's group rejoicing".[49] There is no reason to suppose that this name here refers to a Phur pa deity, so it would seem clear that it is only the specific chapters on the four rites in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary which concern *phur pa* rites.

48 In the current editions of the NGB, there is not an exact match for this title.
49 rdo rje gzhu nu sde 'bum phrag du ma yid rangs te/

11 FRAGMENTS, CURSORY TREATMENT, *DHĀRAṆĪ*S AND PRAGMATIC RITES

IOL Tib J 557: A Phur pa rite in the context of instructions on vows for the five families

IOL Tib J 557 consists of one large sheet of paper, 41 cm in length and 30 cm wide, rather creased in parts, and with a number of dark brown stains. There are three characters of Chinese writing under the Tibetan text, so presumably, this is a case of re-used paper.[1] The ink writing is well-preserved, and apart from the final lines, fairly straight and neat, although no guide lines seem to have been used. As in many other Dunhuang texts, the writing style is a cross between *dbu can* and *dbu med*. In this case, more letters are fully formed as in *dbu can*, with only a few letters in *dbu med* style, specifically, the nga, da and sa, although it is a little inconsistent. Sections and/or some sentence ends are marked by two vertically arranged circles after the final *shad*.[2]

It is not entirely clear how closely the sections of tantric instructions relate to each other. The recto side has a description of the deity Hūṃkāra and then of Vajralāsyā (badzra la se). This is followed on the verso side by a section on the heart vows of the Buddha families. The next part, which either slots into or follows this, presents a mantra and meditation on Vajra Hūṃkāra, a *gtor ma* offering rite, and then the *phur pa* instructions. Although the text continues on the same line after the list of the heart vows, there would appear to be a clear break in topic marked by a double occurrence of the vertically arranged circles. However, it may not be accidental that this added set of instructions should follow the associations of Amoghasiddhi's activity family, which entails, "the heart vow [of] hatred" (thugs dam zhe [s]dang, line 5), with which *phur pa* rites would fit well. Moreover, at the bottom of the page, under the Chinese writing, there is a concluding statement in Tibetan, "Such are the heart vows".[3] This is written in similar but larger writing than the manuscript above, with the same ink colouring, so it is quite possible – although not certain – that it was penned by the same scribe and intended to apply at least to the discussion on the verso side of the text, including the *phur pa* material. Nonetheless, not only is it uncertain what relationship the five family vows have to the lines on the *phur pa* ritual, it is also unclear whether the preceding meditation on Vajra Hūṃkāra and *gtor ma* offering is directly related to the *phur pa* material! Again, we find some indication of a break after the *gtor ma* rite, on this occasion, a horizontal line written up to the end of the eleventh line. Whatever the actual relationship intended between these sections of text, at least it would seem likely that the different instructions have been written at the same time and all relate to tantric practice presumably to be performed by the same readers. It is even possible that the entire set of instructions may be intended to fit with the recto page's material, perhaps all parts of practices connected with Hūṃkāra. In the Phur pa tradition, Hūṃkāra becomes the first of the inner retinue of the ten Wrathful Ones (*khro bo bcu*), residing in the above direction. Although a direct connection between the practices outlined on the recto and verso sides of the folio seems perhaps tenuous, the fact that the *phur pa* instructions follow the Hūṃkāra section on the verso side might suggest that this is an appropriate basis for the *phur pa* ritual.

The brief notes given do not make it explicit whether or not the *phur pa* rite fits into a deity meditation, although this might be suggested by the large number of mantra recitations which are said to be necessary at the outset, and the instructions to praise – perhaps the deity Hūṃkāra? Nothing is said about an effigy as such, but it may be that the specified portion of *gtor ma* is used as the object to strike. In IOL Tib J 331.III (10v.5), we find a black *gtor ma* portion (*gtor ma nag po cha gcig*) used in the destructive rite (see above, p.121). In the transmitted Phur pa tradition, the regular *sgrol ba* rite makes use of a triangular "portion" – again the word, *cha*, is used – cut from a *gtor ma* shaped offering cake in the context of the *tshogs* feast

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1 See above, Ch. 1, p.13-14.

2 We have used the colon to represent this in the transliteration following.

3 **$/ :** /thugs dam lagso/ /

offering rite. The three mantras given here contain elements reminiscent of standard Phur pa mantras. The first part and ending of the first mantra, "oṃ kilayā sār dbyig nan... hūṃ phaṭ", is similar to the standard root Vajrakīlaya mantra: oṃ vajrakīlikīlaya sarva vighnān baṃ hūṃ phaṭ. The "ka tha" element in the middle is also similar to the syllables, "kha thaṃ", occurring in many destructive mantras of the Phu rpa cycles. The "tipta tipta" and "hana hana" elements of the second mantra are suggestive of the consecration mantra found in IOL Tib J 331.III (see above, Ch. 5, p.81 and Ch. 6, p.106), which became the consort's mantra in the Phur pa tradition.

(Beginning of the Verso side, line 1)
$/ /rigs lnga 'i thugs daṃ dang/ kha dogs[4] 'dzIn du mdo tsam zhig glengs pa'/ dbus kyi be ro tsha na/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs//
(small writing beneath *be ro tsha na*:) rnam par[5] nang (sic) mdzad

A summary for understanding the heart vows and colours of the five families: in the centre [is] Vairocana. The tathāgata family,
(beneath: the Tibetan name for) Vairocana

(line 2) sku mdog gser gyi mdog lte bu/ /gzungs 'bu ta lo tsa na'/ /thugs dam gti mug/ sman gu kul/: /shar phyogs kyi ag
(small writing beneath *lo tsa na'*:) lha mo

[his] body is a golden colour, in the centre. The *dhāraṇī* [is] Buddhalocanā. The heart vow is [of] delusion; the medicinal substance [is] frankincense. [In] the eastern direction is Ag..
(beneath *locanā*:) goddess

(line 3) sho bya rdo rje [r?]igs/[6] thugs daṃ nga rgyal/ /gzungs ba dzra ~~me~~ la/ se/ sman ga phur/ lho phyog kyi rad na sam ba ha rin po che 'i rigs
(small writing beneath *sho bya*:) myI g.yo ba
(small writing beneath *gzungs*:) lha mo
(small writing beneath *ba ha*:) rin chen 'byung ldan

...shobya (Akṣobhya), the vajra family. The heart vow [is of] pride. The *dhāraṇī* [is] Vajra La se (Vajralāsyā); the medicinal substance [is] camphor (=*ga bur*). The jewel family of Ratnasambhava of the southern direction.
(beneath *...ṣobhya*:) Unmoving (beneath *dhāraṇī*:) goddess (beneath *...bhava*:) Jewel Source

(line 4) thugs daṃ 'phrag dog/ gzungs ba dzra ma le/ sman mang sa/: /nub phyogs kyi a myi da ba'/ /pad mo 'i rigs/ gzungs badzra gir ti/
(small writing beneath first *gzungs*:) lha mo
(small writing beneath *a myi da ba'*:) snang mtha (sic) yas
(small writing beneath *gzungs badzra*:) lha mo

The heart vow [is of] jealousy. The *dhāraṇī* [is] Vajra Ma le (Vajramālā); the medicinal substance [is] *māṃsa*. Amitābha of the western direction, the lotus family. The *dhāraṇī* [is] Vajra Girti (Vajragītā).
(beneath first *dhāraṇī*:) goddess (beneath: the Tibetan name for) Amitābha (beneath second *dhāraṇī*:) goddess

4 final sa inserted beneath
5 ra attached
6 the letter ra seems to have been scratched from the page, but it is surely intended. There is a tiny hole here, so this is presumably unintended damage.

(line 5) thugs dam brim khyud/ /sman can[7] dan/: /byang phyogs kyi a mo ga si ti/ las kyi rigs/ thugs dam zhe sdang gzungs

(small writing beneath *a mo ga si ti*:) dpal bdud rtsi 'khyil pa'[8]/[9]

The heart vow [is of] *brim khyud*?[10] The medicinal substance [is] sandalwood. Amoghasiddhi of the northern direction, the karma family. The heart vow [is of] hatred. The *dhāraṇī* [is] [...]

(beneath: the Tibetan name for) glorious Amṛtakuṇḍalin

(line 6) badzra gir ti/ / /sman gur kum/:: /rgyun tu bzla ba'i snying po/ /om ba dzra hung ka ra na/ hung/ /bsam rgyud ni/ bdagi thugs

(small writing beneath *badzra gir ti*:) lha mo

Vajra Girti (Vajragītā). The medicinal substance [is] saffron.
The essence mantra for regular recitation [is]: oṃ vajra hūṃkāra na/ hūṃ. The meditational tantra [tradition][11] [is that] at one's own/the lord's heart…

(beneath *Vajragītā*:) goddess

(line 7) ka' na'/ rdo rje rtse dgu pa'/ /gna[s(/m)] pa'[12] la[m(/s)][13] 'od ~~g~~zer[14] 'phro bar bsam/ /spyi'i gtor ma byin kyis brlab pa'//

(small writing beneath *ka'*:) yaṃ/aṃ

[there] abides a nine-spoked vajra, from which light rays radiate. Meditate on this. To consecrate the general *gtor ma*,

(beneath *heart*:) [the syllable] yaṃ/aṃ[15]

(line 8) om am hum/[16] :~~snya~~ om gis ni mye phung tu 'phar bar bsam ~~rgyud gtang~~ am gis ni 'od ~~gsa g~~zer[17] tu phyogs bcur

oṃ aṃ hūṃ. Meditate that oṃ blazes[18] in a mass of fire. With aṃ, light rays [radiate?] to the ten directions.

(line 9) s[-r(/u)]o[19] /hum gis ni/ bdud rtsi 'i zil dngar tu gyur par byin kyis brlab cing bs[t(/d)]us/[20]:/ ~~pa~~[21] nas gang la dmyigs pa 'am/ mchod pa'//

Hum transforms [the *gtor ma*] into deliciously sweet elixir, [dissolving?] and consecrating [it]. Then, to whoever the meditation focus, [it is] offered.

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7 tsan intended?
8 *a chung* subscribed
9 we would expect the standard Tibetan name for Amoghasiddhi, *don yod grub pa*, here!
10 We would expect a word for desire/passion here. Possibly, the *khyud* element might relate to the verb, *'khyud pa*, to embrace. The summarised list is: centre Vairocana delusion; E. Akṣobhya, vajra, pride; S. Ratnasambhava, jewel, jealousy; W. Amitābha, lotus, *brim khyud*; north Amoghasiddhi, karma, hatred
11 The same term, *bsam rgyud* occurs at the beginning of PT 349. See Ch. 8, p.149.
12 *a chung* subscribed
13 both of the preceding instances of the letter *sa*/*ma* are questionable, but here, the translation assumes that both are intended to be *sa*.
14 deletion of prefixed *ga* appears to be indicated by a line above.
15 the syllable *aṃ* would seem more likely placed in the heart.
16 there is a long horizontal line beneath the line here, as though as to separate this line from the next more clearly.
17 again, prefixed *ga* appears to be deleted by a line above. The previous letters are more clearly deleted by crossing through.
18 assuming that *'bar* is intended rather than *'phar*, which would imply, "flies up".
19 the intended word is not entirely clear here; most probably, *spro*.
20 final *sa* is written tiny, as though inserted.
21 here also, it appears *pa* is deleted by a line above.

(line 10) de dang [d]er[22] thob par bya 'I sngagsla[23]/ om ~~a tsha ha 'a~~[24] ba dzra pan tsha a 'bri da'/ a nu pa tsi ra/ hung ka' ra/ ma ha khro da/ 'bhyo ru lu ru lu hum

the mantra for accomplishing this: oṃ vajra pañca a 'bri da' (= amṛta?)/ anu pa tsi ra [=anupakṣita?]/ hūṃkāra/ mahā krodha/ bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ

(line 11) zhes brjod de/ /lag g.yas g.yos kyi 'a srin lag dang[25] ~~gi~~ theb bo gnyis rtse sprad de/ /gtor ma la gtad cing bsngo/ /[26]

Recite (this). The tips of the two third fingers and thumbs of the right and left hands[27] are put together, and the *gtor ma* is dedicated and offered.

(line 12) $/ :[28] /seng ldeng gi phur bu sor brgyad pa'i tshad tu bzhogs la mgo zlum por bya ste/ gtor ma ji 'byor ba cha gcig bshams te/ /sngags lan[29]

Making an acacia wood *phur bu*, chiselled out to measure eight inches, with a rounded head, [from] whatever *gtor ma*[s] are obtained, one portion [is] laid out, and the mantra [is recited]

(line 13) 'bum 'tsang gi bar tu/ ~~mchod ci~~[30] brjod cing bsngags la/ /phur bu dril bcangs gzas te/ /sngasu btab na'/ /ji[s(/m)] kyang myi tshugs

a hundred thousand times. Until [the recitation] is completed, reciting and praising, [you] roll the *phur bu*, holding and brandishing [it, and] when [you] stab [the object] beforehand, whoever [it is, they] cannot do any harm

(line 14) shing phyir bzlog par 'gyur ro/ /sngags la om ki la yā sār[31] dbyig nan/ ka tha ya/ hung phad ces brjod/ do/ /

and [they] will be expelled. For the mantra, recite, oṃ kilayā sār dbyig nan/ ka tha ya/ hūṃ phaṭ. (oṃ kīlaya sarvavighnān *?kathaya/?kaṭaṅkaṭe/?kataṃkate* hūṃ phaṭ)

(line 15) $/ :[32] /ji la yang gdab du rung ba'/ om hu lu hu lu tipta tipta ban da ban da hā na hā na a 'bri te hum phad/ /phur bu'i s[ny]i[ng]

The way it is appropriate to strike again, [is to recite,] oṃ hulu hulu tipta tipta banda banda hāna hāna a 'bri te hūṃ phaṭ (oṃ hulu hulu dīpta dīpta bandha bandha hana hana aṃṛta hūṃ phaṭ)

(line 16) po mdo bsdu [snga(/pa)(/spa)][33] /om bā tsra ki la/ /sarba byid nan/ [big] ta yā hum/:/

The concise essence [mantra] of *phur bu*:[34] oṃ vajra? kila; sarva byid nan; vig ta ya hūṃ (oṃ vajrakīla sarvavighnān *?vidhvaṃsaya* hūṃ)

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22 there is a small hole in the paper here, obscuring the letter *da*

23 la is subscribed

24 deletion appears to be indicated by a circular line around these letters

25 inserted below

26 there is a gap at the end of the line filled with a horizontal line written across, presumably the emphasise the ending here.

27 *lag g.yas g.yos*: note that *g.yas g.yos* seems to be an archaic spelling convention for *g.yas g.yon* ("right and left"). It is found on the recto side of this manuscript also, and it is used consistently in this expression in the Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary, IOL Tib J 321, while *g.yon* is used for the word for "left" alone.

28 note that here and following the *yig mgo* below, this ornamental figure is actually written simply like a colon, not as two vertically arranged circles.

29 final na subscribed to fit in the end of the line

30 It is not entirely clear, but it appears that *mchod ci* is deleted by a circular line through the letters.

31 uncertain; perhaps for sarwa

32 as in the instance of the *yig mgo* above, this ornamental figure is actually written simply like a colon, not as two vertically arranged circles.

33 the possible attached letter *nga* would make the syllable *snga*, just possibly an abbreviation of *sngags* in this context? However, it is also quite possible that merely the letter *pa* alone may be intended.

IOL Tib J 406: A brief rdo rje phur bu rite

IOL Tib J 406 consists of an incomplete concertina manuscript, separated into a number of attached or single pages. The individual pages are rather small, measuring 17.6 cm in horizontal length and 5.5 cm in height, and each has four lines of text written in fairly neat *dbu can*. Most of the writing is well-preserved and perfectly legible; the only problem is that the concertina is no longer complete. According to the International Dunhuang Project catalogue (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 143–4), some but not all of the missing pages are present in PT 325.[35] Unfortunately, this means that the series of rituals described in this manuscript are not altogether straightforward to follow. Nonetheless, the mention of a *phur bu* ritual is found at the bottom of a sheet of four attached pages (corresponding to the third digital image given on the IDP website),[36] so that we do have some of the preceding context. The first page of the folded sheet begins with an invitation to Amoghasiddhi, and it is clear that this completes a section, not all the pages of which are extant, on the five Buddhas. This meditation starts with Vairocana invited to abide on the crown of one's own head,[37] and the other buddhas then arise in the appropriate directions, presumably around the head;[38] we have the page on Amitābha in the west and Amoghasiddhi in the north. The second of the four still attached pages continues with a further general invitation to the five Buddhas, along with appropriate mantras and mudrās to be done. In particular, the vajra fist is to be made and rotated around the ears, clockwise and anti-clockwise, three times each,[39] perhaps indicating that the clenched hands should be circled around the head while meditating on the Buddhas. The instructions continue on the third page, that the palms of the hands are to be clapped three times, and one meditates on a transformation into Vajrapāṇi. Mantras for Vajrapāṇi are recited, and he is invited by binding with the iron hook mudrā, and on the fourth page, invited into the place between the two eyebrows, with an appropriate mantra.[40] A mantra for catchng ghosts and evil spirits is then given,[41] and at this point, a break seems to be marked by words, "ge brdzogso",[42] perhaps meaning, "[May there be] virtues! The end". However, there is no indication in terms of punctuation which might suggest a complete end to one text and beginning of another, and it would seem rather unsatisfactory to have caught ghosts and evil spirits without otherwise ritually acting upon them.

The *phur bu* rite which follows is thus presumably intended to link with the prior visualisation, that is, that the stabbing rite is performed in the context of a tantric meditatation on the five Buddhas and Vajrapāṇi. However, we cannot be *entirely* certain of this, all the more so since the subsequent pages are not included in IOL Tib J 406. There are nonetheless elements of the short description itself which might suggest that this ritual could imply a meditative context not solely a matter of a simple ritual of destruction. The *phur bu* implement is referred to using what became the Phur pa deity's name (*rdo rje phur bu* = Vajrakīlaya), and the text also elaborates on the object to be destroyed, adding the word, "byI na yā ka'" (*vināyaka*, the Sanskrit equivalent of *bgegs*). The *bgegs*, interpreted as the principal obstacles to enlightened awareness, along with the hostile forces (*dgra*), are precisely the main object to be struck in the *phur bu* rites within the Vajrakīlaya practice traditions.

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[34] it is possible that the Phur bu deity might be intended here, although no description has been given. An alternative reading would simply be, "the concise essence [mantra] for the *phur bu* [practice]".

[35] Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 143 provide a, "tentative reorganisation" of the extant pages, included those within PT 325.

[36] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=IOL Tib J 406

[37] this page is labelled as r10 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 144, and as Rf.5v in Dalton and van Schaik 2005, due to a differing convention used for pagination.

[38] This would fit with a common meditation on the seed syllables of the five family buddhas or herukas arising around the top of the head, usually for the purpose of consecration or empowerment (eg *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri*, *las byang* Vol. Tha: 105–106; *bsnyen yig* Vol. Da: 106; *bDud 'joms sPu gri reg phung*, *zin bris* Vol. Za: 546; *Sa skya Phur chen*, 24v).

[39] /phyag rgya nI rdo rje khu tshur bcangs ba'I thabs su bgyIs te/ rna ba g.yas g.yon su lan gsum gsum bskor te/

[40] smyIn mtshams su spyan drangs la// oṃ badzra sad twa 'dzā 'dzā

[41] 'dre gdon drang ba'I snying po la// om badzra ā 'gu sha 'dzā 'dzā (oṃ vajra aṅkuśa? jaḥ jaḥ)

[42] = dge rdzogso?

(line 3)[43] rdo rje 'I phur bu sor lnga par byas ste/ sngags lan lnga brgyar btab (line 4) te zho yod pa'I shIng la bdab na bgegs dang byI na yā ka' thams cad bcIngs

Make a *rdo rje 'I phur bu*, five inches [in length], and do the mantra five hundred times. When striking into *zho yod pa'I shIng* (???),[44] all the obstacles and *vināyaka* are bound up.

Support for the suggestion that this brief mention of *phur bu* ritual might be intended to be part of a longer ritual with an ethos of inner tantric interpretation comes from the text given on the verso side of these pages. Dalton and van Schaik believe this to constitute the final part of the text (which they label as a "Ritual Manual", comprising Section 1 of IOL Tib J 406, along with PT 325). This closing sheet has some further discussion of dealing with problems caused by evil spirits (*gdon*), which is rather obviously integrated into meditation on the deities of the five families, and it also includes imagery suggestive of meditative interpretations, such as all the odours of the evil being washed away by the Dharmadhātu waters.[45]

IOL Tib J 447 Section 3: Phur bu stabbing rituals

IOL Tib J 447 is a concertina manuscript with a series of notes on tantric practice. The extant sheets each consist of a number – usually five – of still attached pages. The reverse sides of the last few sheets are left blank, but the majority of pages are filled with rather small, closely spaced writing (up to ten lines on each individual page), without margins or pagination. The beginnings of sections are marked by a single *yig mgo* placed at the beginning of the line, and sometimes, a section is completed with two vertically arranged circles (as in IOL Tib J 557, see above). The *phur pa* material is found within the third section as given in the IDP catalogue, which begins on Rf.14r.4 in the numbering system used by Dalton and van Schaik 2005 (corresponding to the second page of the sixth image on the IDP website). The opening part covers a good deal of ground, commenting on different mantra syllables, their meditative associations and visualisations, including techniques for realising insubstantiality and emptiness through dissolutions of the aggregates – eg. feelings dissolving into bubbles, perceptions dissolving into illusions, consciousness into dreams (Rf.14v.3), and a list of the expected results of meditating for different lengths of time. Beginning on Rf.15r, there is a discussion of the five primordial wisdoms, the Buddhas and Buddha families, and realising one's own body speech and mind as vajra. It continues on Rf.16r by saying that through seeing the three poisons as the tathāgatha's body, one accomplishes Vajrasattva. A visualisation of Vajrasattva in front of oneself follows, ritual substances to lay out are listed, and without any section break, from the end of Rf.16r, the text lists desired ritual impacts on various troublesome phenomena, and proceeds to give instructions for *phur pa* rites for these purposes. Thus, while the rituals are in themselves apparently focused on worldly problems, it is clear that they are nonetheless under consideration in the context of a practitioner who is primarily concerned with meditative realisation.

(Rf.16r.9) ser ba bcad (Rf.16v.1) pa dang yul du char dbab pa dang/ chu dbab pa dang/ char pa gcad pa dang/ yul dgra dgug pa dang/ bdag la pha rol pos (Rf.16v.2) dgra byed pa thams cad la

For stopping hail, making rain fall in the area, making water [sources continue to] flow and for stopping rainfall, for catching the area's hostile spirits, and [to deal with] all hostility from enemies towards oneself,

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43 The page would correspond to r16 in the numbering given in Dalton and van Schaik 2006, or to Rf.8v in Dalton and van Schaik 2005.

44 This is uncertain here. *Zho* usually means curds, and it is possible that this phrase might refer to a wooden container for curds; *zho can* can mean oily, and another possibility is that *zho yod pa'i shing* has the same sense (wood which is oily). However, neither of these possible meanings are clear, and the precise function they might have in this ritual context is not easy to guess.

45 chos gyI phyIngs gyI chus ngan sdIg gI drI ma thams shad bkru bar bsam mo/ (v2.1–2 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006 numbering system)

seng ldeng gi phur bu tsher nag gi phur bu sor bdun par bya ste/

Make a black thorny acacia wooden *phur bu*, 7 inches long, and

sgang mthon po dang ri mthon po dang/ sa (Rf.16v.3) mthon po'i khar lan bzhi [stong?] du ~~zlas bsngags bzlas/ bcu par bya ste~~ bsngags bzlas phur bu gdab bo/ sngags la na ma sa man (Rf.16v.4) ta/ bhi sho da ya byi sho bha ya byi sho bha ra/ hu'um phad bhya sho da ya/

on top of high plateaus, high mountains and highlands, recite the mantra four [thousand?] times, and strike[with] the *phur bu*. The mantra [is] namaḥ samanta bhī śodhaya viśobhaya(?) viśobhara(?) hūṃ phaṭ bhaya śodhaya.[46]

tsher nag pur bu sor bcu par bya ste/ bdag dang myi 'dza' ba'I (Rf.16v.5) sgor btab na/ khyim bdag de rabs chad par 'gyur ro/ rmyig myed par 'gyur ro/ myi 'dza ba de'i mying nas dbyung zhing/ btab bo/ (Rf.16v.6) sngags gong ma lan stong brgya rtsa brgyad gyis gdab ~~ba~~ bo/ bzlas so/

Make a black thorny [wooden] *phur bu*, 10 inches long, and if [you] strike at the door of [those] who eat[47] oneself and humans, the householder's lineage will be cut off. [Their] eyes will be put out. By the names of the human-eaters, [they] are drawn out and struck. The mantra given above is recited while striking one hundred and eight thousand times.

tsan dan gyi phur bu dang shug pa'i phur bu sor bcu gnyis (Rf.16v.7) par byas la/

Make a sandalwood *phur bu* and juniper *phur bu*, 12 inches long, and

sngags gong ma nyid[48] stong brgya rtsa brgyad kyis bzla ste/ lha gang[49] mchod pa'i sar btab na/ lha thams cad dbang ston (Rf.16v.8) byed de/ bdag dang gzhan gyi khyim sgor btab na/ 'byung po dang gnod sbyin thams cad bros par byed do/

recite the above mantra two hundred and eight thousand times. If [you] strike at the place of the temple for offerings, all the gods will have to show their power. If [you] strike at the doors of the houses of [your]self and others, all the elemental spirits and yakṣas will flee.

skyes pa dang bud myed (Rf.16v.9) gang yang rung bdag gis dbang du bya na/ pha rol pos s[du(/te)] sha[r(/d)] dang ga[ng(/r)] rnyed pa las phyi[ng?] ka lag du bkal te/ srad pu byas la (Rf.17r.1) sngags 'dI bzhi brkyang bzla ste/ btab la rkang pa g.yas pa long [s(/b)]u'i steng na bcing ngo/ dbang du gyur nas bkrol lo// (Rf.17r.2) sngags la/ om cha myI yis myi mi ma la 'dzo/ ha na ha na hu'um/ ~~hri~~ hri ma ['o(/ldo)]g du byed dang/ sngags gyis brnan no/

You should bring any men or women whatsoever under control. Enemies, whatever are found (uncertain....), recite this mantra [just?] four [times], and by striking, above [the ankles?] of the right leg, [they] will be bound. Once brought under control, [they] will be freed. The mantra [is] oṃ... (etc.) Put [them] beneath and suppress with the mantra.

de nas (Rf.17r.3) yid dam gi lha la dam gsol zhing dus du [su?] dam bskang ba dang/ sems can gyi don byed pa rnams la gtor ma gtor ba'i (Rf.17r.4) cho ga bya ba ni bdag gi lha la gtor ma dang mchod pa dbul bar bya'o/

Then, requesting [your] tutelary deity's bond, and [at this time?] fulfilling the bond, [you] should perform the rite of scattering *gtor ma*[s] in order to bring about the benefit of sentient beings, offering *gtor ma*[s] and offerings to your own deity.

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46 Thanks to Vesna Wallace for help in suggesting a possible Sanskrit equivalent for this mantra.
47 uncertain: myi 'dza' (or myi 'dza below) = mi za?
48 nyid = nyis?
49 lha gang = lha khang?

zhal zas sna tshogs pa dang 'jang 'ag ~~la~~ dang (Rf.17r.5) mang sa dang mye mar dang gu kul gyi pho[g(/n)] dang/ gur kum dang rdo rje 'di rnams gyis mchod do/ mang sa myed na 'jang ga la (Rf.17r.6) yang rung/ gu kul myed na chang dang rdo rje'i chu dang gnyis bsre ste/ de nas mchod do/

Make offerings of these vajra [items], various foods, [beer?],[50] *māṃsa* (flesh), butter lamps, [an amount?] of frankincense, lamps and saffron. If there is no *māṃsa* (flesh), how could it also be alright for [beer]? If there is no frankincense, [you] should mix the beer with vajra water and then offer it.

bsam pa ni bdag gi lha la rdo rje sems (Rf.17r.7) dpa' 'khor dang bcas pa gshegste/ bdud 'khor dang bcas pa/ thams cad dang bgegs dang bar chad byed pa thams cad bcom (Rf.17r.8) zhing zhabs kyi 'og du bnan bar bsam mo/

The meditation is that Vajrasattva and [his] retinue come to one's own deity. All the māras and [their] circle, all obstacles and hindrances are vanquished and [you] meditate on crushing [them] underfoot."

The text continues with appropriate mudrās and mantras, and the notes on the rite are concluded (Rf.17v.5) with a discussion of appropriate times, after which there is a further meditation on wrathful Vajrasattva dissolving into all the pores of one's body, re-emanating and purifying all one's non-virtuous karma (Rf.18r).

In this case, then, instructions are given for performing stabbing rites using three *phur bu*s, the first two apparently for destructive purposes, and the third for subjugation. There is no more than a possible hint of any soteriological dimension to the rites themselves – there is a mention that the objects of the rite will be freed when they have been brought under control (*dbang du gyur nas bkrol lo*), but in the context of a subjugation rite, this most likely simply refers to them being released to carry out one's own purposes. Nonetheless, the rituals are part of a longer rite which clearly is concerned with meditative realisation through Vajrasattva practice.

IOL Tib J 401: A booklet of ritual instructions

IOL Tib J 401 is a rather home-made booklet with notes on a series of rites. It seems to have re-used paper: the pages are made from long *dpe cha* style folios (several of the sheets even have a string hole cut out and marked with a red circle) which have been folded across the page along the centre point, and the middle (vertically running) crease has been sewn with thick thread in large stitches. Some pages (such as folio 7 and 8) consist of two sheets stuck together, apparently with some writing on the reverse stuck down sides. The condition of the paper is good, and the various indentations at the edges of sheets do not affect the writing area. The ink writing is mostly clear throughout, in a style tending to *dbu med*, rather typical of so many of the Dunhuang documents. The size and style varies a little; mostly, it is rather small, fitting as much as 10 lines on a sheet, and written with a rather fine pen. In some places, the style changes from one side to the next, suggesting that some pages were written on different occasions (eg. 9v and 10r are different in size and in thickness of the ink.) The two outer folios suggest content which may have derived from a previous use of the paper. From the front inside cover, the text runs to the inside cover of the back of the booklet – this is, of course, the left and right hand sides of a single sheet, as though the page were written before the idea of making the booklet with inner pages were conceived. This section appears to represent a Tibetan transcription of Chinese (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 136). Moreover, the text on the next sheet from the outside of the booklet, 2r and 28v, also appear to represent a single item, which also has some transcription of Chinese and may be related to the item above.[51]

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[50] 'jang = chang?

[51] Note that Dalton and van Schaik (2006: 137) comment that there is a transcription of a Sanskrit mantra on 28v, "which includes an invocation of Kīlaya". However, although the letters, "ki la yan" are within the *dhāraṇī*, it is not at all clear that this relates to

Here, for ease of reference, we follow the IDP catalogue's ordering of sections. From the front of the booklet, the first instructions after the material on the outer two sheets mentioned above constitute Section 4, and run from pages 4v to 2v, written up-side-down in the way the pages have been bound. The opening part concerns a curative rite for a person afflicted by madness. The details are not altogether clear, but it seems that filings of various metals (iron, gold and bell metal) are thrown on a large fire. Then four people holding the four limbs of the mad person swing (presumably the patient?) above the fire, recite the appropriate mantra, which seems to suggest that spirits such as yakṣa (yag sha) and rākṣasa (ra ksha) are considered to be responsible for the condition, and the process of adding filings is repeated nine times.[52] After a certain interval, the rite is then concluded with a ritual involving five *phur bu*s:

> (4v.6) /the ma gi na/ phur bu lnga gdab/ rka lag bzhi mgo phur bu (4v.7) la btags la/ mtshon skud sna lngas kyang steng du brnan te/ mchan du rdog pas mnan la/ (4r.1) phu [r(/d)]ung gi lcag gis gzhu/ bdag nI rdo rje khro bor dmyigs/ snying po brjod pa ni/ ōṃ badzra ya ksha (4r.2) ma ne pad me hūm/ kar ma pad me hūm/ badzra tsag kra phaṭ ces bgyi ste/ steng nas yar mchong (4r.3) bgyi//
>
> At the end, plant five *phur bu*s. Fix the four limbs[53] [and] the head to the *phur bu*s, and [using] five types of coloured thread, also press down above. Press down, stepping onto the armpits, hit the sleeves with a whip.[54] Meditate on yourself as the Vajra Wrathful One. The essence [mantra] to recite: oṃ vajra yakṣa maṇi padme hūṃ karma padme hūṃ vajra cakra phaṭ. Saying this, leap up from above.

What is clear from this description is first, that the ritual officiant should be a tantric adept, who performs a self-visualisation as the "Vajra Wrathful One" (*rdo rje khro bo*), a title often used for the more central deities in the Phur pa literature. Secondly, the afflicted person has *phur bu*s in some way attached to or marking five parts of their body, ie. the head, the arms and the legs. We have not come across anything quite like this in later Phur pa literature but there are similar ritual procedures, in which the different parts of the body of the effigy representing the evil forces are stabbed or fixed with *phur bu*s. Indeed, we have an example of such a rite in IOL Tib J 331.III (8r.3; see above Ch. 6, p.114-115), where *phur pa*s are stabbed into the effigy's forehead, two shoulders, thighs, and navel. Later Phur pa rituals are much more obviously in continuity with the IOL Tib J 331.III ritual[55] than with this healing rite, but perhaps this example may suggest a slightly wider range of applications for such ritual usages of *phur pa*s than became common in time.

Notes on another healing ritual follow (4r.7 ff), for men with urine retention or women with prolapsed wombs (? *mngal log*). The ritual makes use of cord[56] which is knotted with mantras, the ends passed from the patient to oneself, and it is then drawn up into a ball, mixed into a *gtor ma* and cast away. As the gtor ma

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kīlaya in any sense of the word (deity or implement) – the title of the *dharaṇī* seems to imply it is for the buddhas, the śrāvaka saṃgha and the consorts of the buddhas (28v.3–4).

52 /smyon ba chen po smyo ba la/ cho gar bya ba'i thabs la/ lcags phye dang gser phye dang khar ba'I phye las bstsogs pas/ phye tha ma la pa dang bsres la/ smyon ba myi bzhis rka lag bzhi nas bzung ste/ mye bo che bus te/ mye 'I steng du g.yeng/ 'og gI mye la phyes btab la/ snying po/ ōm badzra kar ma 'dza/ badzra yag sha 'dzā/ badzra rag sha 'dzā/ badzra 'dza 'dza/ badzra ra ksha 'dzā/ badzṛ sa ru 'dza zhes bya ste/ spa ra na spro zhes byas la/ phye lan dgus btab ste/ de nas spos la/ dgung gsum gi bar du bsdad/ (4v.1–6)

53 Dan Martin (2005): rka pa = rkang pa; citing Kuijp 1986 (*Studies in the Life and Thought of Mkhas-grub-rje IV: Mkhas-grub-rje on Regionalism and Dialects*. Berliner Indologische Studien, Vol. 2): 37.

54 It is uncertain quite what is intended here, if indeed, the translation is correct.

55 See, for instance, the *gNam lcags spu gri* ritual of the bDud 'joms Phur pa cycle (*bDud 'joms gSung 'bum* Volume Tha: 132, Da: 134–5), or the more elaborate description given in the *'Bum nag* for striking twenty-one places of the effigy (Boord 2002: 231–4).

56 Dalton and van Schaik (2006: 137) take it that a shinbone (*the gu*) is also involved, but it seems rather more likely that *the gu* is here for *thi gu*, string or cord.

is scattered, one meditates that from every single body hair of one's own body, tens of thousands of wrathful ones arise, obstructing the illness in the sick person's body, subduing hindrances, banishing all illnesses.[57]

Here, we do not have a *phur pa* ritual as such, but this meditation is similar to an important aspect of the Phur pa tradition's visualisations of Vajrakīlaya in both Sa skya and rNying ma sources. The Sa skya *Phur chen* (15v.4) speaks of the twenty-one thousand (body) hairs of oneself as the deity, filled with miniature Vajrakumāras. The *'Bum nag* (Boord: 183; bDud 'joms *bKa' ma* Tha: 333)[58] refers to Vimalamitra's gloss on the line of the Phur pa root verse which says that the aggregates are filled with vajra, suggesting that the aggregate of consciousness is generated as Vajrakumāra, and then the pores of his body hairs are filled with tiny wrathful ones.

In the context of a rain-making ritual described in Section 8, if rain does not fall despite the offerings made in the main part of the rite, a mantra to the nāgas is recited and their heads are crushed by the syllable hūṃ. If even this fails to produce results, small willow or apricot wood branches are taken up, and the nāgas are struck while reciting "the Ki la ya mantra" (which unfortunately is not given so we cannot know what resemblance it has to the standard Phur pa mantras) one hundred and eight times.[59]

Other parts of the booklet also contain reference to rites which might have some bearing on the Phur pa tradition, although in a slightly less obvious manner. In particular, Section 6 contains a meditation on blue Vajra Hūṃkāra, focusing on the expelling of nāgas and evil spirits.[60] In the ritual described here, one generates great compassion, and then strikes the negative forces with a vajra club, the head of which becomes a wrathful one with frowning eyes. The centrality of the motive of compassion, so important in the Phur pa practices, is in this case highlighted.[61]

gDugs dkar dhāraṇī extracts: IOL Tib J 491 and PT 8

The *dhāraṇī* for the female Buddha, White Parasol, the *Uṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-dhāraṇī*, (*gTsug gtor gdugs dkar po'i gzungs*), is represented in a number of Dunhuang manuscripts or manuscript fragments (see Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 43).[62] This *dhāraṇī* contains some lines related to *phur bu* rites of destruction. As noted above (see Ch. 5, 85 note 61 above), the Vajra Claw (rDo rje sder mo) *dhāraṇī* text has some phrases in common with this material, such as its use of the refrain, "the *phur bu* strikes" ("*phur bus gdab bo*"), together with some of the objects for striking. Such *dhāraṇī* texts can give us some insight into the notion of

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57 /gtor ma gtor ba'I che bsam pa ni/ bdag gi ba spu nyag gcig las kyang/ khro bo khri phyag khri phyag byung nas/ nad pa'i lus la nad bgegs byed pa dang/ bar chad tham cad gdul zhing bsal bar dmyigs/ gtor ma de dang tha (=thi?) gus/ nad ma lus par phyung zhing nas/ btang bar bsam zhing dmyigs so/ (3v.5–3r.1)

58 Note that Boord uses the word "established" for *gtams* ("filled").

59 /de nas kyang ma bab na rgya lcang gi lcug ma 'am/ kham shing gi lcug ma 'am/ gang yang rung ste/ ki la ya 'i sngags kyis/ lan brgya rtsa brgyad kyis btab cing/ klu la gzhu 'o/ (22r.4–6)

60 As noted above in the discussion of IOL Tib J 557 (p.194), Hūṃkāra has an important place in Vajrakīlaya's immediate retinue.

61 rdo rje hung ka ra la brten te/ /ti nge 'dzin du zhugs po/ lha 'i sku ni sngo la spyan gsum 'od 'bar ba'i nang na bzhugs/ /sems can thams cad dang/ klu 'khor dang bcas pa la snying rje cher bsam zhing bskyed do/ /ser ba bzlog pa dang/ nad pa dang 'dre gdon drag po glo bur la bstsogs pa drag po la rdo rje be con gi sngags dang phyag rgya byas te/ bsam ba ni tsher ma can gi be con/ mgo la khros pa'i khro gnyer can gi dmyig gnyis mchis pas klu 'brug dang 'dre gdon thams cad la brgyab nas bzlog par bsam/ :: (16r.1–6)

"Relying on Vajra Hūṃkāra is the entrance into samādhi. The deity's body is blue (*sngo*), and [his] three eyes blaze with light. Abiding within, one generates thoughts of great compassion for all sentient beings and the circle of *nāga*s. Expelling hail and illnesses, ghosts, adventitious strong evil spirits etc., doing the Vajra Club mantra and mudrā and for the meditation, expel by meditating on a thorny club, its head a wrathful one, with two frowning eyes, hitting *nāga*s, dragons and all ghosts and evil spirits."

62 The text is entitled, *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas byung ba'i gdugs dkar po can gzhan gyis mi thub pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (the text is given in two versions in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* edition, one immediately after the other (Volume 90, *rgyud 'bum* Vol. Pha: 219r.7–224v.2; 224v.2–229v.7). After the second version, a bibliographical colophon is given: //gtsug tor lha yul ma chung ba kha che'i paṇḍita mahā dznyānas rang 'gyur du mdzad pa'o/

the ritual effects of *phur bu* rites, although it is worth noting that they are not likely in themselves to incorporate such rituals in practice. That is, the context for their use is most likely to be simple recitation of the *dhāraṇī* as a whole for protective purposes, rather than acting out any of the ritual imagery conjured up.

There are two short extracts from this White Parasol *dhāraṇī* with the *phur bu* material, within the manuscript fragments in IOL Tib J 491 and PT 8. We have identified parallel text in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* (Volume 90, *rgyud 'bum* Vol. Pha). After the *phur bu* lines, the PT 8 extract continues (verso page 2) with prostrations to gDugs dkar, a request for her protection and a *dhāraṇī* beginning by addressing her. Although the content of the IOL Tib J 491 sheet and PT 8 does not correspond to text found in other Dunhuang versions of this *dhāraṇī* text, such as IOL Tib J 323 section 1, and IOL Tib J 360 section 1, the IDP catalogue for IOL Tib J 323 notes that these Dunhuang versions omit material concerning ritual *phur bu*s which is found in the later canonical versions. It is precisely this material which our extracts are from.

Both IOL Tib J 491 and PT 8 are from concertina manuscripts, and written in clear *dbu can* writing. In the case of IOL Tib J 491's single first folio,[63] the recto side of the sheet has an extract from slightly higher up the *dhāraṇī* than the extract on the verso side,[64] so that the text on the verso pages of the concertina manuscript must have followed on from the recto pages. In the case of PT 8, a quite different text, an extract from the Samantabhadra Aspirations for Perfected Deeds,[65] is given on the recto sheets. Although IOL Tib J 491's sheets (measuring 21–21.5 cm across by 6.5 cm height) are separated from the rest of their concertina manuscript(s), the paper seems largely intact, thick sheets, rather discoloured in places, but no holes or other blemishes. There are four lines per side. PT 8's sheets have been undergoing restoration, and in autumn 2006, appeared as a single long page of 18.7 x 39 cm. This in fact consists of the original four attached pages, with seven or eight lines per side. There is a large stain covering approximatively 75% of the manuscript, and also damage where the paper had once been folded across the writing area, so some lines are difficult to read.

Text of IOL Tib J 491.1v

(1v.1) zas su lo tog za ba dang/ zas su sbyin bsreg za ba[66] de dag thams chad dang/ gdon thams chad kyi rIg sngags[67] (1v.2) gcad do/ phur bus gdab bo/ /kun tu rgyus byas pa 'I rigs[68] sngags gcad do/

...severing the *vidyā* mantras of... those who eat the harvests, those who eat the burnt offerings as food, all these and, all evil spirits. The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra[69] which is performed by wandering mendicants.

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[63] Note that although the IDP catalogue treats this sheet as pages 1r and 1v (and we follow this pagination here), it bears an IOL stamped number, 24.

[64] In terms of correspondences with the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* editions of the *Uṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* (Volume 90, *rgyud 'bum* Pha), IOL Tib J 491's 1r corresponds to 219v.6 – 220r.1 (Western numeral 436–7) in one version, and to 225r.3–4 (Western numeral 447) in the following version. IOL Tib J 491's 1v corresponds to 221v.1–3 (Western numeral 440) in the first version, and 226v.5–6 (Western numeral 450) in the next.

[65] That is, the *'Phags pa'i Kun tu bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam kyi rgyal po*. In the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* version, this extract occurs at the end of the *Phal po che* section, Volume 38, Ka (720.1–721.5).

[66] We omit text found in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* versions here: de dag thams chad las bdag bde legs su gyur cig (221v.1), presumably through eyeskip; and: las bdag bde legs su gyur cig, found in 226v.5).

[67] sngags: final *sa* subscribed, end of the line.

[68] in this and in future instances, *rigs* almost certainly indicates *rig*, ie. *vidyā* (wisdom/gnostic, or magical) mantra rather than family mantra

[69] This phrase, "The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra..." (rig [or rigs] sngags gcad do/ phur bus gdab bo/) also occurs in rDo rje sder mo texts, eg. Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che's *bKa' 'bum* Volume Ta: 265. Moreover, it is clear from the English language version of a rDo rje sder mo *dhāraṇī* text in our possession (Joan Nicell 2000), that some of the list of evils derives from the same ultimate source, and includes: "those who eat crops for sustenance, and those who eat burnt offerings for sustenance".

phur bus gdab (1v.3) bo/ /mkha' 'gro dang mkha' 'gro mas byas pa'I rigs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by *ḍāka*s and *ḍākinī*s.

phur bus gdab bo// /phyugs bdag chen pos byas pa'I rigs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by Mahāpaśupati.

phur bus gdab bo// sred med kyi
The *phur bu* strikes, [severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by] Viṣṇu...

Extract of Text of PT 8, verso[70]
bo/[71] /nag po chen po dang ma mo'i tshogs gyIs byas pa'i rigs sngags gcad do/
[The *phur bu* strikes,?] severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by the Great Black One (Mahākāla) and the assembly of *mamo*s.

phur bus (line 2) gdab bo/ /myi'I thod pa can gyis byas pa'i rIgs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by those endowed with human skulls (Kapālin/Kāpālika).

phur bus gdab 'o/ rgyal bar (line 3) byed pa dang/ sbrang rtsi byed pa dang/ don kun sgrub pas byas pa'i rigs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by the one who conquers (Jayakara), the (deity,) Honey-maker (Madhukara)[72] and the one who accomplishes all objects (Sarvārthasiddhi/ sādhaka/sādhana).

phur bus/ (line 4) gdab bo/ [73]/bhī [ng(/d)] gi rI ti dang/ dga' ba'i dbang phyug dang/ tshogs gyi bdag po dang/ lhan gcig pas (line 5) byas pa'i rIgs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed simultaneously by Bhṛṅgiriṭi,[74] Mighty in Joy (Nandīśvara) and the Lord of the Hosts (Gaṇeśa).

phur bus gdab'o/ /dge sbyong gcer bus byas pa'i r[I?]gs (line 6) sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by naked śramaṇas.

phur bus gdab bo/ /dgra bcom bas byas pa'i rigs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by arhat[s].

(line 7) phur bus gdab bo/ /'dod chags dang bral bas byas pa'i rIgs sngags gcad do/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by those who are free from desire (vītarāga).[75]

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70 PT 8's extract represents the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* Volume 90, *rgyud 'bum* Pha 221v.3–222v.1 and 226v.7–227v.4.

71 In keeping with what follows, and the parallels in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur*, it is most likely that the words before are: *phur bus gdab*.

72 sbrang rtsi byed pa, literally, 'honey maker' (often meaning, 'bee') = Madhukara. According to Bhattacharyya 1968: 378-9, where he cites the *Nispannayogāvalī*, Jayakara and Madhukara are Hindu deities connected with Kāmadeva who came to have a position in Vajrayāna Buddhism.

73 we omit two *tshig rkang* found in both versions of our *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* parallel text.

74 An attendant of Śiva. The next two names in this sentence are also Śaiva deities.

75 Vītarāga, 'passionless', is a name given to bodhisattvas or a class of bodhisattvas, and can also apply to Jain saints.

phur bus (line 8) gdab bo/ gsang pa'i bdag po lag na rdo rjes byas pa'i rIgs sngags gcad do/ phur bus (verso page 2) gdab bo/
The *phur bu* strikes, severing the *vidyā* mantra which is performed by the Master of Secrets, Vajra in hand (Guhyapati Vajrapāṇi). The *phur bu* strikes!

/bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas byung ba/ gdugs dkar (line 2) po can khyod la phyag 'tshal lo/
Victorious One arisen from the uṣṇīṣa of the tathāgata, White Parasol, (I) prostrate to you.

/bdag la bsrung du gsol/ bsrung du gsol//
Please protect me! Please protect!"

Here, we have the long *dhāraṇī*, which continues through to the final verso page 4. After the *dhāraṇī*, the extract concludes:

(verso page 4, line 5) sems can su gang dag bdag [+-3][76] (line 6) sems dang ldan ba rnams dang/
"Whoever among sentient beings, [towards my]self, those who have minds [which hate] and

drag shul gyi sems dang ldan ba rnams dang/ [77]zas su mdangs (line 7) za ba rnams dang/
those endowed with savage minds, those who devour lustre as food,

zas su mngal za ba rnams dang/ zas su khrag 'thung ba rnams dang/ zas su
those who devour wombs as food and those who drink blood as food and .... as food...."[78]

IOL Tib J 360 Section 2: The Dhāraṇī of Vajrakumāra

IOL Tib J 360 is an apparently incomplete manuscript (the pagination begins at Ka 66), which consists of a collection of several *dhāraṇī* and verses of praise or aspirations. It is in *dpe cha* form, but small (22.6 x 6.5 cm), with a single string hole in the centre of each folio. There are some indentations at the edges, but otherwise the paper is well-preserved. The sheets are rather blotched and slightly discoloured, but the writing is clearly legible. It is executed with a thick ink pen; in most parts, reasonably neatly written *dbu can*, with 4 lines per page.

The second text represents the *dhāraṇī* of Ārya Vajrakumāra, or 'Phags pa rdo rje gzhon nu. It may be that this *dhāraṇī* has no bearing at all on the Phur pa tradition: deities with no connection to the Phur pa deity may be given the name or epithet, Vajrakumāra. Indeed, even in the gDugs dkar *dhāraṇī*, a version of which is in fact the opening text in IOL Tib J 360, a long list of female deity forms includes, "rdo rje gzhon nu rig 'dzin ma", "female vidyādhara, Vajrakumārī".[79] Moreover, the Chinese Buddhist tradition inherited some *Kriyātantra*s related to a deity known as Vajrakumāra,[80] who seems to have nothing to do with the yidam deity, Vajrakīlaya, and it is not impossible that the protective *dhāraṇī* here may be connected to this deity.

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[76] next syllables to the end of the line are illegible. Parallels in *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* give: la sdang ba'i (222r.7, 227v.3–4), and this would seem to fit perfectly given the space taken by the letters.

[77] one *tshig rkang* given in the parallel text passages in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* is omitted.

[78] Considering the parallels with the section of the text given in IOL Tib J 491 (see the opening lines of 1v above), here again we have the sense of a list of those who consume various items as food, whose *vidyā* mantras are to be severed. We also again have a parallel with the rDo rje sder mo *dhāraṇī* text: "Those who deprive me of my luster and beauty, those who eat uteri for sustenance, those who drink blood for sustenance..." (Joan Nicell 2000).

[79] In the case of IOL Tib J 360, this name, rdo rje gzhon nu rig 'dzin ma, occurs on folio 74v (and in the second *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* version, the equivalent line is found at *rgyud 'bum* Vol. Pha: 228v.7).

[80] In particular, there is the *Kaṇikrodha Vajrakumāra Bodhisattva Sādhana Vidhi* (Chinese: *Sheng chia ni fen nu chin kang t'ung tzu p'u sa ch'eng chiu i kuei ching*, T1222a, K1355), and related texts (see Mayer 2007).

This is all the more likely in that the Chinese Vajrakumāra text links the deity with Vajrapāṇi, exactly as we find at the beginning of this Vajrakumāra *dhāraṇī*. However, in traditional Tibetan Buddhism, the name Vajrakumāra came to be virtually synonymous with Vajrakīlaya, and it is conceivable that the imagery which informed the identification of the Phur pa deity as a "vajra youth"[81] may owe something to the associations of this Vajrakumāra. We do know that the use of the name for Vajrakīlaya was early: as we see above, it is already mentioned in PT 44, and the earliest texts we have for the *Mahāyoga* Phur pa yidam deity – those of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po/ Grags pa rgyal mtshan, and of Nyang ral (see Ch. 3, p.38, Ch. 4 p.53) – address the deity by this name. It thus seems worth giving brief consideration to the imagery found in this short text.

Despite the name of the *dhāraṇī*, Vajrakumāra himself is not well represented in the short text. It is not simply that he is not described, but the elements indicating his name, badzra kumāra, do not seem to be included in the *dhāraṇī*. He is nonetheless called upon (Ka 91v.2) in the context of a request for him to effect the ritual action. The entire focus of the *dhāraṇī* is on protection against negative spirits and illnesses, and the overall thrust is on expelling or destroying.[82] In terms of the impact of the rite upon the practitioner, the focus appears to be almost exclusively physical. In the final culmination of the passage (Ka 93v), the successful practitioner is described as one holding to the *dhāraṇī* within their *body*, and the effect of their performing many recitations is said to be that they will be protected from any harm which might be caused by poison. There is no mention of mental protection or meditative fruits. Perhaps the only real similarity between this and the Phur pa Vajrakumāra is the use of aggressive symbolism, such as a blazing vajra smashing the heads of the evil spirits into pieces,[83] and the fact that several of the syllables in this *dhāraṇī* also occur in Phur pa Vajrakumāra mantras – but of course, they also occur in so many other fierce Buddhist rites.

> (Ka 89r = 24r stamped number) $/:/rgya gar skad du/ a rya ba dzra ku ma ra dha ra nI/ (red circle) bod skad du/ (line 2) 'phags pa rdo rje gzhon nu'I gzungs//
>
> "In the Indian language, "Ārya Vajrakumāra *dhāraṇī*"; in Tibetan, "The *dhāraṇī* of Noble Vajra Youth".
>
> //lag na (line 3) rdo rje brlang ba gnod sbyIn gyI ste 'i dbang po chen po la phyag 'tshal (line 4) lo/
>
> [I] prostrate to Vajrapāṇi, the great powerful one who is of fierce *yakṣa* [type].
>
> /de nas rdo rje gzhon nu'I rigs bshad de/ dngos grub thob (Ka 89v; 24v) [--][84] pa/ dus ma yIn bar 'chI ba thams cad las yongs su skyob pa/ gdon (line 2) thams cad yongs su 'dul ba/ kun tu srung ba/ phyIr zlog pa' (line 3) 'dI ni rdo rje 'dzIn pas bshad do//
>
> Then, to explain the family of Vajrakumāra, siddhi is attained, [and] total protection from all untimely deaths. All evils are completely subdued, [one is] universally protected [from them and they] are expelled back. This is taught by Vajradhara.

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81 In the Phur pa tradition, interpretation of the name, rdo rje gzhon nu, in terms of its literal meaning in Tibetan of "vajra youth", began early. For instance, Nyang ral's *bde bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, addresses the issue. At the opening of Chapter 2, question is posed, "Why is one (who exists) from beginningless time, known as, *Youthful*?" (/thog ma med pa'i dus nyid nas/ /gzhon nur grags pa ci zhigs lags/ [sGang steng NGB, Volume Ya, 346r.5-6]). The response confirms, "Youthful in emanating swiftly, old age and decay have no power over me; instantaneously (I am) arisen from out of (my-)self! (/myur du sprul pa'i gzhon nu ste/ /nga las bgres rgud yong mi mnga'/ /skad cig nyid las byung ba'o/ [Volume Ya, 347r.6-7]). For other connotations of the name, see above, p.26.

82 There is one *possible* hint of some kind of positive transformation for the trouble makers (Ka 93r–v), where it says that the transgressors, "will be transformed on this sacred great occasion" (*dus chen por 'gyur ro*) – but we need caution not to read too much into these brief words, which say little.

83 Compare: "the blazing great blue weapon, smashes (their) brains into a hundred pieces" (/mtshon chen sngon po 'bar ba yis/ /klad pa tshal pa brgya ru khos/ [the *Myang 'das* Chapter 24, Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 225]).

84 two letters deleted, rubbed from page.

//tad dya tha/ ba dzre ba dzre/ (line 4) sa ra sa ra/ a mo gha/ ba dzre ba dzre/ ka la ka la/ a dzI ta ba dzrI ni/ ra ksha ra ksha man/ (Ka 90r; 25r) $/:/sa rba gra ho/ u pa [tra(/dra)] bē bhya/ ka ṭa ka ṭa/ ha na ha na/ sa rba du shta nan/ kar ma (line 2) nI/ ta na ā ta na ā/ pra sa ra pra sa ra/ da ma da ma/ sha ma sha ma/ ghu (line 3) ma ghu ma/ ghu me ghu me/ ba dzra ma la dha rI/ tsIn ḍe tsIn ḍe/ tsag kre (line 4) hrI dha ya/ nIr mI te/ nI la tha sa ne/ so ma ka sa ya/ be tsId ta/ sa nad da'I/ (Ka 90v; 25v) nI ka la ra drI/ kris shna pIng ga lI/ bI kri ta/ bye ta lI/ ra ksha ra ksha man/ sa (line 2) rba [ta(/ha)(/da)]/[85] sa rba bha ye bhya/ sa rba pā bhI ta mya sa rba tra/ ra ksha [nga?] ku ru ku ru/ (line 3) pa rI tra nan/ pa ri gra ham/ pa rI pa la nam/ shān tIng swa shya (line 4) ya nang/ dan da pa rI ha rang/ sha [sdra(/stra)] pa rI ha rang/ bI sha du sha nan/ sa rba (Ka 91r; 26r) $/:/a mrId ta/ na ba ra nan/ tad [tya(/dya)] tha/ ba dzre ba dzre/ ma hā ba dzre/ ba dzre ma la dha rI/ (line 2) ba dzre nI dha nI// (hint of a red circle mainly rubbed from the page)

// bdag la srungs shig srungs shig// (line 3) gdug pa thams cad ma mchis par mdzod cig/ /

...Please protect me, please protect. Please prevent all evils from coming.

da ha da ha// (line 4) gnod byed thams cad la huṃ hūm hūm phaṭ/ ka dha ka dha ka dha/ (Ka 91v; 26v) ug kra du pI ni/ pa tsa pa tsa/ /phra men ma thams cad skrad do/ bzlog (line 2) go/ /a se a se/ /rdo rje gzhon nu rdo rje gzhon nus 'phen (line 3) pa/ rIms nad thams cad myed par byed pa/ gdon thams cad (line 4) 'jom ba/

.... Please drive out and expel all the *phra men ma*... Vajrakumāra, Vajrakumāra, please cast out and cause plagues to be destroyed! Vanquish all evil spirits!

/bhan dzra bhan dzra/ ta me ta me/ /bdag la su zhIg smod pa/ (Ka 92r; 27r) $/:/tad tya tha/ sa ra sa ra/ da ra ya da ra ya/ /gdon thams cad 'gog pa/

...Whoever abuses me, ... all [their] evil spirits are blocked.

(line 2) rdo rje gzhon nu 'I phyir zlog pa'I rig sngags las su zhig 'da' (line 3) bar byed na/ de la rdo rje 'bar bas mgo bo tshal pa bdun [ru(/du)] (line 4) 'gems so/

If anyone whosoever tries to evade Vajrakumāra's *vidyā* mantra for expelling back, the blazing vajra smashes [their] heads into seven pieces.

/spo ta ya spo ta ya/ gra sa tshin dha tshin dha/ /su zhig (Ka 92v; 27v) bdag la gzhan gyI rig sngags dang/ byad ste[86] ma byed pa dang/ byed du btsug (line 2) na/ de dag gI lus la slar 'gro zhIng slar 'bab par 'gyur ro/ (red circle) /

...If anyone performs [or] without performing, instigates the performance of other *vidyā* mantras and curses towards me, (the mantras and curses) will return again and descend upon their bodies!

(line 3) ga ga ne/ a tsa le/ rĪ pe rI pe/ pra ha ra stam bha nI/ pra ha ra sang krā ma nI// (line 4) 'tsho ba'I dbang po la srungs shIg srungs shig/

...Please protect, please protect life's sense faculties.

/su zhig bdag la bgegs (Ka 93r; 28r) $/:/byed pa/ sdIg pa thams cad gdung bar byed pa'I rig sngags kyI 'phreng ba'o//

[This] is the *vidyā* mantra garland which afflicts all [the] evils [of] whoever makes obstacles for me.

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85 a similar slight uncertainty applies also to "ta" in "kri ta" and "bye ta" in the line above. In this instance, the letter is shaped slightly more like a "ha".

86 possibly, for byad ltas?

(line 2) sā ra sā ra/ su ren ḍe su ren ḍe/ /rdo rje 'I pho nyas phyogs thams cad (line 3) bcing ngo/ bcIng bar bya'o/ (a red circle marks the send of the section, between the *shad*s. /)
... The vajra messenger[s] shall bind all [of them] in every direction.[87] [Please] bind [them]!

tad dya tha/ o ha nI/ mo ha nI/ dzam bha (line 4) nI/ stam bha nI/ /nad thams cad 'jIl ba/
...Banishing all illnesses...

su zhIg rIg sngags (Ka 93v 28v) 'di las 'da' bar byed pa dus chen por 'gyur ro/
Whoever [tries] to evade this *vidyā* mantra will be transformed on this sacred great occasion.

/gang gIs rig (line 2) sngags 'dI lus la 'chang ba dang/ 'don mang byed na/ de la nams (line 3) kyang dug gIs myI tshugs/
Those who hold to this *vidyā* mantra in [their] body, if they perform many recitations, even poison will not harm them.

ma rungs pa'I gdon thams (line 4) cad kyI kyang 'da' bar myI byed/
Not even all the most vicious evil forces will get the better of them.

'phra men ma thams cad kyis kyang (Ka 95r;[88] 29r) $/:/bdud du bcas pa dang/ tshangs pa dang bcas pa'I 'jIg rten (line 2) gyIs kyang 'da' bar myI 'gyur na/ myi lta smos kyang cI dgos//
When not even the worlds of all the *'phra men ma*, along with the *māra*s and the *brahmā*s[89] can evade [this recitation], what need is there to mention men?

(line 4)[90] $/:/'phags pa rdo rje gzhon nu 'i gzungs rdzogs so/ (two vertically arranged red circles) / (95v is blank)
This completes the *dhāraṇī* for the Noble Vajrakumāra."

IOL Tib J 384 Section 1: Establishing the Maṇḍala

The first section of IOL Tib J 384 concerns the establishment and consecration of a ritual maṇḍala. It is a concertina manuscript preserved in good condition, and with clear *dbu can* writing, although it is missing its opening, so at least some pages must be missing.[91] The first page[92] speaks of the features to be secured around the outer periphery of the maṇḍala area, such as the doors and their protectors, and the corners (of the "palace"). It specifies (line 4–5) that the main maṇḍala rite begins with one meditating on Dharmadhātu total purity (*rnam par dag bar*) and on the mahāmudrā. The concept of "total purity" became important as one of the three principal generation stage meditations in *Mahāyoga*, indicating the vision of all phenomena as the enlightened attributes.[93] Here, this is the basis for the ritual invoking the earth goddess, the consecration of the ground and the marking out of the maṇḍala. At this stage, there is a brief mention of the use of *phur bu*s

87 It is not clear whether the vajra messenger(s) might be related to the four female messengers or door protectresses to which the Phur pa tradition assigns the tasks of summoning, causing to enter, binding, and driving mad or unifying (depending on the context). See Ch. 7, p.138-139 above.

88 Note that folio Ka 94 is missing, or 95 is mislabelled. It is therefore a little uncertain whether we are missing text here, although since the text runs smoothly and seems to fit together appropriately, it is most likely a mislabelling.

89 the choice of these specific two classes probably intends to conjure up the image of any conceivable being from the māras abiding in the depths of hell to the brahmās abiding in the highest heavens.

90 there is a blank space for line 3.

91 It is uncertain how many because no pagination is given.

92 labelled Rf.1r in the IDP website catalogue and r1 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 117.

93 For its treatment in Phur pa texts, see Ch. 16 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (Editions of the NGB), and the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* Volume Da: 113.5, 115.3–119.2.

to mark out the four corners, after which the boundaries are secured, using mustard seeds.[94] We have seen above in IOL 331.III (Ch.5, p.75, Ch. 6, p.108-109, text 6v) that the establishment of *phur bu*s around the practice area is an important component of the securing of boundaries and expulsion of obstacles. This feature is common to maṇḍalas of all deities. The single line on the *phur bu*s here reads as follows:

(second recto page line 5) /seng leng[95] gyi phur bu grwa bzhir gzugs pa sngags la/ /ōṃ badzra (third recto page line 1) ki la ki la ya ki la ya/ /sa rba du sta na huṃ phaṭ/

"Acacia wood *phur bu*(s) are to be set up at the four corners. The mantra for this is: oṃ vajra kīla kīlaya kīlaya sarva duṣṭān hūṃ phaṭ"

PT 42 Section VI: Kīlaya or phur bus in empowerment rituals

PT 42 is an interesting manual on many aspects of *Mahāyoga* practice, written in clear *dbu can*. It is an incomplete concertina manuscript, a missing section of which is found in IOL Tib J 419. We have noted above (see Chapter 1 p.8) its elaborate discussion of the practices of union and liberation (*sbyor sgrol*). There is also some hint in this text that *phur bu*s were serving a central ritual function in a few of the tantric empowerment rites it lists, but exactly what that role was is unclear. On folio 53, the section on empowerments refers to "empowerments of the outer and inner *kīlaya* and *gtor ma*" (*ki la ya dang/ gtor ma phyi nang gnyis kyi dbang*), and the discussion of the "*king*" (= *ging*) empowerment of water [from?] weeping given on folio 54 is said to involve both the vajra and *kīlaya* empowerment (*king chu ngu 'i dbang ni rdo rje dang/ ki la ya 'i dbang dang gnyis*). Following this, the carnivore *ging* empowerment is said to be an empowerment with the *phur bu* and ritual deity (*za byed kyi king gi dbang ni/ phur bu dang las kyi lha dang/ dbang rnam pa gcig*). Unfortunately, full details are not supplied.

IOL Tib J 716 Section 4: A Destructive Homa Ritual

The final section of IOL Tib J 716 consists of a short description of a destructive *homa* ritual. This manuscript is a single well-preserved scroll, written in fairly straight lines despite the lack of ruling, in *dbu can* script. The first two more substantial sections concern *Mahāyoga* deity practices, the third is a longevity ritual. The fourth section continues in the same writing immediately following the section before, in the last part of the verso page. Predictably for a destructive *homa* rite, it begins by specifying the need for a triangular maṇḍala and hearth (as in IOL Tib J 321's Ch. 19; see above, Ch.10, p.185-186). The fire god (*mye lha*) is invited and summoned into the hearth, offerings made, his mantra recited, with mudrās giving further protection. The name of the (rite's) object is written down and offered to the fire god to consume. Various substances with suitably destructive associations are then burnt and offered. Members of the retinue are also summoned with mantras and mudrās, the fire-wood exhausted, after which the fire god is asked to depart. It is only at this stage that one, "strikes with" or "plants a consecrated *phur bu*" (*/de nyid du byin kyis brlabs pa'i phur bus gdab bo/*). The chariot mudrā is described, and slightly cryptic further instructions given, possibly indicating that the hands [in the mudrā] should be circled round the head, and then by casting out,[96] [the objects of the rite?] leave with the chariot.[97] Further mantras and mudrās are then made, followed by a final summoning of *vināyaka*[98] and *yāma*(s), and a blood offering.

[94] Mustard seeds are generally used in this ritual context: they become "power substances" (*thun rdzas*), representing tiny wrathful emanations, and they are cast at obstructing spirits (*bgegs*), expelling them beyond the maṇḍala.

[95] seng leng sic., presumably = seng ldeng?

[96] It is not certain whether some item (the *phur bu* or another ritual material?) is intended to be thrown, or whether all that is intended is simply the hands in the mudrā making the gesture of casting out.

[97] glad pa la skor zhing 'phangs pas/ pha rol gal (ga la?) 'dug par shing rta bcas par gyur te/

[98] As noted above (see the discussion of IOL Tib J 406, p.199), in *phur pa* ritual contexts, "*vināyaka*" (=Tibetan *bgegs*) is the main object to be liberated.

It is not at all clear what role the *phur bu* is playing in this destructive *homa* rite. It is neither analogous to IOL Tib J 321's Ch. 19 use of *phur bu*s in marking around the hearth, nor to the Phur pa tradition of offering and burning a *liṅga* stabbed by a *phur bu* as part of destructive *homa* rituals.[99] It may be intended as having a destructive ritual purpose in the final expulsion of the objects of the rite, but this is by no means certain.

PT 60: Some Line Drawings

PT 60 is a long scroll with clearly written Chinese on one side and rather less neatly written Tibetan on the other; again (as in the case of IOL Tib J 754, for instance), it is most likely the Tibetan scribe was re-using paper which had previously been used for Chinese text.[100] In this case, the first part of the Tibetan side contains the White Parasol (*gDugs dkar*) *dhāraṇī* (see comments on IOL Tib J 491 and PT 8 above), while the second part gives the *vajra-vidāraṇa dhāraṇī* (*rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa*).[101] Interspersed between the lines of text are a number of roughly drawn diagrams of maṇḍala outlines or structures. There are also further illustrations without accompanying text. The outer circle of some of the maṇḍalas give lotus petals, but a few also have an inner eight-spoked wheel, in the design most usually indicating sharp iron spokes, suggesting destructive ritual connotations. There are a couple of triangular shaped diagrams, perhaps meant to represent hearths for destructive *homa* rites; one could possibly be meant as a container for a *liṅga*. A number of demonic figures are depicted, some apparently incomplete and not in an obvious relationship to each other, nor to the maṇḍala/hearth diagrams or the text. It is hard to say, but a couple of them are each within an enclosing circle and might conceivably be intended to represent effigies for destructive rites. Finally, there are various ritual implements illustrated, mostly vajras and trident tops, but two might be intended to be *phur bu*s each with a half-vajra top. If so, they are crudely shaped and do not conform to the textual specifications for *phur bu*s (for which, see Ch. 2, p.16-17, 19, Ch. 5, p.74 and Ch. 6, p.92-93 above). The shape of the shaft and blade in both cases resembles a slightly elongated diamond form, with one or two horizontal bands around the middle. It is possible, however, that they are not *phur bu*s at all, but variants on vajra symbols. Since these drawings do not directly illustrate the texts, it is difficult to know how to assess them, especially since they appear to be crude and unfinished, rather than carefully crafted illustrations. As with some of the other manuscripts we have considered in this final chapter, it may be that they have little or no relevance to *phur pa* rites.

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99 Eg. in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri drag sreg*, Vol. Tha: 404–5. In the *'Bum nag*, there is a description of cutting the effigy into pieces, and then burning it (Boord 2002: 244).

100 Our colleague, Jean-Luc Achard, consulted the original manuscript on our behalf in Paris; unfortunately, there was some difficulty with access to this manuscript, so his time was limited and the account here is more impressionistic than in the case of the other texts we discuss.

101 See comments, Ch. 1, p.6 note 15, on this *dhāraṇī* text, which is well-represented in Dunhuang.

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[1] Note that we find corrections in red ink through much of the text of the *Myang 'das* in this edition. We have used the sigla **Rc** to refer to such corrected words in the Rig 'dzin edition.

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